Chapter 14
Analysis of the Ṣan'ā' Market Today

An attempt is made in the following pages to portray the structural characteristics of the Ṣan'ā' Market. It is based on researches carried out by the writer during the years 1971, 1972, and 1974,* but, inevitably, it leaves many gaps where the more complex aspects of the Market structure are concerned. As no previous studies are available this account is somewhat in the nature of a pioneer study. The Market as the centre of socio-economic interaction gives a good indication of the relationships which form an essential part of the cultural complexity of an urban society. Naturally one looks for the key that will open the door to the understanding and explanation of the economic formula one observes in the Market. The central principle and ideal of economic thinking is basically a social one—namely, how to regulate, by social mechanisms, the production and distribution of goods in such a way as to guarantee the optimum of satisfaction both of individual needs and those of the group as a whole. Economic measures must therefore take account of social attitudes, and the economic system cannot be assessed in isolation from the study of society. Starting from this point one arrives at the concept of alliance-groups as the key to be used in studying the Market. The alliance-group is conceived of as a body of individuals within a society bound together by common interests. These interests become identical when there exists among the members of a given group, a consensus of opinion regarding the regulation of profits arising from their craft or business.

The complexity of urban society necessitates that an individual working in the Market must belong to various groups of associates—e.g., a body of relatives by blood, a professional group tied to the Market, a social class, and a city quarter. The concept of the alliance-group enables us to comprehend the social involvement of the Market with the urban society of Ṣan'ā', and to portray with greater clarity their socio-economic interaction. To demonstrate how the structure of these groups works special attention will be given to the way in which goods circulate within the various groups of associates. No account, of course, however comprehensive, can claim to offer an exact description of any category of socio-cultural phenomena, but it at least lays out a pattern for further consideration.

It is the writer's pleasant duty to express his thanks to his informants, merchants and artisans, for their ready and willing co-operation, once they had overcome their inherent and natural suspicion of interest taken by a foreigner in economic questions.

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The Location

The Ṣan'ā' Market is of the type of open markets[1]—the streets of workshops and businesses form a centre that is associated with the peripheral markets, Sūq Bāb al-Yaman, Sūq al-Baqar and Sūq al-Jimāl.

The centre of the market is situated in the south eastern part of Ṣan'ā'. The southern limit of the centre of the market abuts on a line to be drawn between the important monuments illustrating the history of the town, al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, the site of Ghumdān. the ruins of the Christian church and the castle.[2] Through the interior of the market there run two lines of streets—one along the south-north axis from Bāb al-Yaman to Bāb al-Sha'ūb, the second along the east-west axis from Bāb al-Qaṣr, via Sūq al-baqar, to Bāb al-Ṣabāḥ.

With regard to the peripheral markets—Sūq Bāb al-Yaman lies south of the market centre and is connected with it through the Sūq al-Naẓārah; Sūq al-Zumur (Sūq al-Jimāl), situated in the north, is linked to the centre of the market by the Sūq al-Madar and Suq̄ 'Aqīl; Sūq al-Baqar is situated west of the market centre and can be reached from it by Sūq Ṭalḥah. The Firewood Market lies outside the walls.

From this description the suburban markets such as Suq̄ Bāb al-Ṣabāḥ are excluded, as also the business streets with new shops that have been opened outside the old market area.

According to information yielded by the map, Ṣan'ā' 4 (Health Organization, Yemen Arab Republic, 1:5000), the ground on which the market centre is situated ascends slightly along the south-north axis from 2258 to 2260m. The incline diminishes very little northwards (2259m) and eastwards (2258m). The western part of the market centre where the joiners, shoemakers and smiths have their workshops, shows a slight rise (2260-2261m) compared with the eastern part.

The following mosques are situated around the market centre—al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr, al-Madhhab, al-Shahīdayn and 'Aqīl. Within the market centre is situated 'Alī.[3] According to information from *Masājid Ṣan'ā'* there was in the present Sūq al-'Alaf an earlier mosque of which nothing remains today.[4] The Masjid al-Najjār mentioned in the same work is likewise unknown.[5]

Within the area of the peripheral markets are situated the following mosques—in Sūq Bāb al-Yaman, al-Ruḍwān, in Sūq al-Baqar, Masjid Maḥmūd and in Sūq al-Zumur (Sūq al-Jimāl), al-Zumur.

1 Cf. E. Wirth, 224.
2 Cf. C. Rathjens & H. von Wissmann, 346.
3 See Map no. 6, in C. Rathjens & H. von Wissmann.
4 *Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 116.
5 Op. cit., 137.

The Spatial Organization of the Market

Before going into the question of the organization of the market centre the names of the individual markets existing today may be mentioned. First the use of synonyms may be noted; such as Sūq al-Mukhlaṣ for Sūq al-Fiḍḍah (No. 6). Furthermore some new names are used alongside the old, for example Sūq al-Ḥumaydī (No. 47) is called Sūq al-Jadīd or Sūq al-Thawrah; Sūq al-Jadīd (No. 19) is also called Sūq al-Thawrah; Sūq Bāb al-Yaman (No. 60) is called Sūq al-Ḥurriyyah. For Sūq al-Jimāl (No. 30) the name Sūq al-Zumur is used, as, in the place of the old camel market, trade is carried on in a new range of wares (assorted goods, western products of a technical nature, e.g. water piping, etc.). These examples indicate that the new names of the present day reflect both political change and economic transformation.

Features characterizing the market centre are a well-defined separation from the residential quarters; the prohibition from entering the market area at night except where the joiners, shoemakers and smiths have their workshops, which is controlled by a guard; organization in production and trade zones; differentiation between markets with a specific supply of capital goods and those offering consumer goods; fixed sites for specific agricultural products (*qāt,* grapes, etc.); the presence of customs-houses, of a safe depository and numerous warehouses.

Production Zones

The boundary between production and trading zones is not very clearly distinguished. Only those handicrafts involving noise and smell, such as joinery, smithery, including tinsmiths, and the shoemakers' shops, are separate from the trading zone. With regard to location a production zone in the western sector (I) of the market centre can be distinguished from one in the eastern sector (II).

I Classified in accordance with the type of raw materials to be processed the following handicrafts come within the production zone:

Sūq al-Naḥās	(No. 46)	Coppersmiths
Sūq al-Ḥaddādīn	(No. 42)	Blacksmiths
Sūq al-Mawāqid	(No. 39)	Tinsmiths (*mawqid* is a tinned copper charcoal brazier)
Sūq al-Janābī	(No. 37)	Daggermakers
Sūq al-Aswāb	(No. 38)	Makers of leather covers for dagger-sheaths
Sūq al-Minqālah	(No. 41)	Cobblers
Sūq al-Maḥāzim	(No. 24)	Beltmakers
Sūq Ḥārat al-Madar	(No. 29)	Saddlers (Originally the Pottery Market)
Sūq al-Najjārīn	(No. 40)	Joiners
Sūq al-Mikhrāṭah	(No. 25)	Turners
Sūq al-Qaṣīb	(No. 23)	Makers of pipes for water-pipes
Sūq al-Jilā/Jalā	(No. 21)	Tailors, also some cloth merchants
Sūq al-Kawāfī	(No. 26)	Cap-makers
Sūq al-Salab	(No. 27)	Ropemakers

II In this production zone are concentrated the craftsmen specializing in the manufacture of veils and silver ornaments. It includes Sūq al-Fiḍḍah (No. 6), the silversmiths, and Sūq al-Miṣbāghah (No. 5), and the plangi-dyers.

To the list above certain additions must be made. Tailors' workshops are found today in the following markets—Sūq al-Fiḍḍah, Sūq al-Ḥumaydī and Sūq al-Bazz; not all tailors working in the town are included, as much cottage industry is carried on. Three goldsmiths' workshops lie outside the Sūq al-Fiḍḍah, two in a street in Ḥārat Mūsā, and one in a square in front of Masjid al-Madhhab, which is also called Sūq al-Khubz (No. 3).

Among the service occupations must be mentioned cuppers or blood-letters (*ḥajjāmīn*) in Sūq al-Mikhrāṭah; barbers in the following markets: Sūq al-Qāt, Sūq al-Fiḍḍah, Sūq al-Milḥ and Sūq al-Naẓārah. Eating-houses are concentrated in Sūq al-'Aysh—also Sūq al-Luqmah (No. 11); some are also scattered about Sūq al-Naḥās (No. 46) and Sūq al-Naẓārah (No. 45). In Sūq al-Khubz, mentioned above, bread and boiled potatoes are on sale.

Tanneries are situated mainly in Ḥārat al-Ṭawāshī, while butchers, brickmakers and lime-burners have their workplaces outside the walls.

Trading Zones

The trading zone proves to be more differentiated in consequence of the more varied supply of goods. To make the survey clearer the markets are grouped in accordance with the types of commodity.

1 *Provisions and specialities*

Sūq al-Ḥabb	(No. 12)	Cereals
Sūq al-Ḥilbah wa-'l-Milḥ	(No. 13)	Spices
Sūq al-Zabīb	(No. 15)	Raisins, various provisions
Sūq al-Saman	(No. 10)	Oils
Sūq al-Qishr	(No. 16)	Coffee, coffee bowls, sugar and other provisions
Sūq al-'Inab	(No. 43)	Grapes, fruit
Sūq 'Aqīl	(No. 7)	Grapes, fruit, provisions
Sūq al-Qāt	(No. 4)	*Qāt*

2 *Assorted goods* (Provisions, specialities, tinned goods, other imported goods, e.g. lighters, soap, combs etc.)

Sūq al-Naẓārah	(No. 45)
Sūq al-Ḥinnā	(No. 44)
Sūq al-Milḥ	(No. 2)
Sūq al-Jadīd	(No. 19)
Sūq al-Ḥumaydī	(No. 47)
Sūq al-Jabbānah	(No. 37)
Sūq Ṭalḥah	(No. 32)

3 *Cloth and clothing*

Sūq al-Bazz	(No. 22)	with the following sub-markets:-
Sūq al-Abyaḍ	(No. 22)	
Sūq al-Ṣayārifah	(No. 22)	
Sūq al-Maṣāwin	(No. 22)	veils, head wraps
Sūq al-Jilā/Jalā	(No. 21)	
Sūq al-Fitlah	(No. 18)	wool

4 *Household and other goods*

Sūq al-Ḥalaqah	(No. 36)	Tin and plastic wares
Sūq al-Mi'ṭārah	(No. 14)	Druggists and apothecaries
Sūq al-Bārūt/Bārūd	(No. 11)	Gun-powder market (closed)
Sūq al-Quṣṣ	(No. 28)	Plaster market
Sūq Dār al-Jāmi'	(No. 49)	Import business (Western products of a technical nature)

Between Sūq al-Qishr and Sūq 'Aqīl is situated Sūq al-Mibsāṭah/Sūq al-Qamlah (No. 17). In this market private individuals display articles of their own property for sale; commission agents also auction their goods there.

Agricultural products are sold in the following markets: Sūq al-'Inab, Sūq al-Zabīb, Sūq al-Ḥinnā, Sūq 'Aqīl, Sūq al-Qāt, and Sūq al-'Alaf (No. 135), the Fodder Market. On the north side of al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr a sheep market is held annually before al-'Īd

al-Kabīr. It is also known as Sūq Mawsim al-'Īd. Sheep are sold there by individual vendors.

The peripheral markets are distinguished from the market centre by the following important features: their location in the side-streets leading to the market centre; their having no distinct separation from the residential quarters and no guard; the existence of peripatetic traders alongside fixed premises; the predominantly seasonal supply of goods, except in the case of the Cattle and Fodder Markets.

Sūq Bāb al-Yaman:

In this side-street leading to the market centre, the oil presses (*ma'ṣarah/ma'āṣir*) are found, as they are supplied by the farmers with the raw material (*khardal*) for extracting vegetable oil (*salīṭ*). As well as the farmers who offer their produce for sale, there is also a large number of peripatetic traders in different country products, as well as vendors of pottery from the Tihāmah, butchers and peripatetic shoemakers. In the fixed shops assorted goods and country products are sold; nearby also are businesses specialising in charcoal, petroleum and a radio-business opened by emigrants from Ḥaḍramawt. The day to day activity of the market is now and again varied by auctions, the appearance of street singers (*nashshād*) and occasionally by a woman fortune-teller (*mufawwilah,* pl., *-āt*) who foretells the future by means of sea-shells.

Sūq al-Baqar:

The Donkey Market (Sūq al-Bahā'im) is part of the Cattle Market proper. Both markets are always held on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. At present only the Donkey Market is held in its traditional place, while the Cattle Market has been removed outside the town to the vicinity of Bāb al-Sha'ūb.

Sūq al-Jimāl:

The former camel market—also called Ḥawshat al-Rubū'ī—today bears the name of Sūq al-Zumur; in it mainly assorted goods and imported technical goods are offered for sale. Only the sites of some firewood merchants' stores recall the former market for country products. In earlier times the Camel Market was usually held on a Wednesday.

Within the market centre are sited certain institutions of great economic significance, the custom posts, of which two are working at present—Jumruk al-Qishr and Jumruk al-Zabīb. The former was previously called Samsarat al-Shāmī but it was also known as Samsarat al-Qishr wa-'l-Bunn. Following oral traditions it was converted by order of Imām Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn into a customs office and equipped with scales and since then it has been known as al-Mīzān. Formerly it was used as a store for *qishr* and *salīṭ* (oil), but today *qishr* only is stored there. Since the establishment of the Republic all imported goods are weighed outside the market, near Bāb al-Sitrān. Only Jumruk al-Zabīb, where raisins and grapes imported to Ṣan'ā' were subjected to customs clearance, has completely retained its function and it also serves as the office of the Shaykh al-Layl who is responsible for the security of the market at night.

Near the customs offices the place where deposits (*wadī'ah*) of money were made Samsarat Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, a magnificent building (cf. p.278a), constituted an important market institution.[6] As it was plundered by the soldiers of Imām Aḥmad in 1948,[7] the merchants use the bank situated outside the market area. The warehouses (*samsarah,* pl., *samāsir*) are also to be reckoned as institutions of economic importance. A distinction is made between a) warehouses, b) warehouses in which accommodation is provided and c) warehouses in which accommodation is provided for man and beast (*samsarah li-'l-dawābb*). In all I was able to count 27 warehouses, of which two bore the term *makhzan,* one was used for storing *salīṭ* (oil), the second as a granary. The latter was a gift by Bayt al-Bilaylī, a respected family of the town. Of the above-mentioned total, 16 lie within the market centre the others are to be found in the side-streets leading to the market. Cf. Appendix 1, p.275

A description of the most important institutions of the market would be incomplete, if the water supply, so important for the daily life of the market were omitted. Altogether 18 wells, gifts of different persons, ensure the water supply. Appendix 2 gives an inventory of the wells. Worth mentioning is the existence of a house for providing drinking water in the Sūq al-Miṣbāghah, called by the ordinary name of such buildings Bayt al-Sharbah, which especially provides the Sūq al-Qāt with the water that one has to drink when chewing *qāt*. The owner has the water brought from his well outside the market in a two-wheeled cart (*qārī*) specially constructed for the transport of water and he decants it into small jugs, the contents of which he sells.

Property Relationships in the Market

To make an appreciation of the economic basis of the people operating in the market, in both the productive and in the commercial sectors, a glance at the law of property is necessary. The results presented below, are based on an investigation carried out in the year 1974, in the course of which I questioned 238 people operating in the market. In this study I shall refer to other results of this inquiry. The immediate purpose is to examine, as far as one can, the particular variants of property law that apply to work-places and shops. The results of my enquiry are collated in the following table.

	Artisans (N=157)		Merchants (N=81)		Total (N=238)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Ownership	36	22.93	13	16.05	49	20.59
Lease	29	18.47	16	19.75	45	18.91
Waqf (partial)	41	26.12	19	23.46	60	25.21
Waqf (total)	51	32.48	33	40.74	84	35.29
Total	157	100.00	81	100.00	238	100.00

N = number of those questioned % percentage of the total of the group

The percentage with ownership, at 23.93% among craftsmen, is higher than 16.05% among merchants.

As I understand matters two factors suggest an explanation for this discrepancy: 1) The workshops have been in possession of the family for several generations; 2) The economic importance of handicrafts before competition with the increased import of factory-produced goods allowed workshops to be kept in family possession.

Common to both groups is roughly the same percentage of leased property and the surprisingly high percentage of *waqf*-property. With regard to the latter type of lease both groups differ as to the percentage of the two existing types of *waqf—waqf al-arḍah* and *waqf kāmil.* In the case of *waqf al-arḍah* only the site of the workplace or shop concerned is *waqf,* whereas the premises located thereon come under private ownership. Even a wall on the site is not part of the *waqf.* In the table this property relationship is designed as partial *waqf. Waqf kāmil* includes the site as well as the premises erected thereon—hence we have called it total *waqf.* The percentage of *waqf* in the case of merchants at 64.19% is slightly higher than the 58.59% for craftsmen.

Considerable differences can be discerned in the proportion of *waqf al-arḍah* to *waqf kāmil.* In the case of craftsmen *waqf kāmil* exceeds *arḍah* by 6.37% whereas in the cases of merchants the percentage rises to 17.28% in favour of *waqf kāmil,* i.e. the latter

6 C. Niebuhr, 1772, 231. Niebuhr especially stresses S. at Mahdī, probably with the Samsarat al-Imām al-Mahdī.
7 Cf. O'Ballance, 48.

type of *waqf* lease outnumbers the *waqf al-arḍah,* a fact suggesting the economically favoured position of the merchants. In the statements received in explanation of this situation, reference was made in the majority of cases to the fact that many merchants belong to the socially privileged class of the Sādah and therefore access to the *waqf kāmil* is easier for them. As this information could not be verified, it will have to be treated with caution.

It is always valuable to check results obtained from informants against data provided by other sources, and my results can be checked by reference to the Awqāf Ministry. In the compilation, *Asās mustawfāt al-awqāf bi-Ṣan'ā',* (1390/1970-71) of this authority, the number of *awqāf* in the market is given as 1,025 bringing in receipts of 4,751 *riyāls* per month (an average of 4.6 *riyāls* per *waqf*). Unfortunately no distinction is made in the lists between *waqf al-arḍah* and *waqf kāmil.* If on this number of *awqāf* of 1,025 there is based the number of active craftsmen and merchants in the market of 1,741—the number produced by my calculations in my 1971 enquiries—the percentage of *waqf* amounts to 58.87%. The figure of 60.50% (*waqf al-arḍah* 25.21%, *waqf kāmil* 35.29%) obtained by my random tests confirm the relative accuracy of my results.

The *waqf* holder pays a monthly sum to the Ministry of Awqāf, the amount of which is determined, on the one hand by the type of *waqf,* on the other hand by the estimated income. This sum can be paid off through service in the mosque—by reciting the Qur'ān (*qirā'ah*).

In the market there are also other *waqfs*—mostly wells/fountains (*sabīl*) and stores (*makhzan*) donated as *ṣadaqah* or *maḥsinah* for public use.

It is evident then that the institution of *waqf* seems to play a necessary economic part in the market life but the question why remains unanswered. Any answer presupposes a knowledge of the development of *waqf* in the market area and requires some indication of the conditions that led to this high percentage of *waqf.* Here we are faced with a problem, namely, the lack or in accessibility of sources. In this context a source proved to be useful only insofar as it provided the basis for an inference. This latter we find in al-Rāzī who, in the Ms. of his work *Tārīkh madīnat Ṣan'ā'* (Ambrosiana Ms.) recorded the names of a number of people who specifically donated businesses as *ṣadaqah,* presumably the sites intended are in the market area.[8] It is significant that these persons who act as donors are people of high social standing who must certainly have exercised political influence, such as Ibn Misād (sic) al-Ḥajarī or Maḥfūẓ b. Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir.[9] We have, of course, no effective answer to the question as to what motive induced these personalities to donate as *waqf* plots of land in the market area. We are therefore thrown onto mere conjecture. I interpret the indications we have as pointing to the use of the *waqf* as an economic and political instrument to stimulate the development of the market. In order to render the activity attractive to the groups essential to the market, such as craftsmen and merchants, first of all such property relationships had to be created in the market area as made its use economically acceptable. If one realizes that, in the widespread economic system of rentier capitalism in the Near East, as first described by H. Bobek,[10] such high deductions had to be paid from the yield that those liable to payment frequently hardly gained a bare subsistence, it will be understood that measures had to be taken to reduce the private share in land. In this sense these donations constitute the transference of the private share in land ownership to the public. Only through such a solution was one of the most important conditions created for the activity of craftsmen and merchants without landed property in the market area. This explanation may perhaps enable one to understand the motives underlying the establishment of *awqāf* in the market area. But it still remains hypothetical. Only one thing is certain—the institution of the pious donation played a decisive part in the development of the market.

8 Al-Rāzī, a, fol., 109 b-110 b, 112 b, 117 b.
9 Op. cit., fol., 11 a.
10 H. Bobek, 283.
11 Al-Rāzī, b, 27.

The Development of the Market

The records of the Market of Ṣan'ā' in the sources at our disposal prove frequently to be inaccurate and incomplete. This obviously is the cause of the hypothetical character of any statement based on such data. In order to arrive at a fairly valid assessment I start from the axiom that the passages concerned reproduce an order that, consciously or unconsciously, relates to the reality observed. If, for example, al-Rāzī puts the sheep-and-goat market along with the butchers and cuppers or blood-letters, then I assume this passage reproduces a grouping observed by him.

The Market in the 5th/11th Century

The earliest Arabic source containing references to the market is the *Tārīkh madīnat Ṣan'ā'* of al-Rāzī. Of this work the manuscript (Ambr. MS.G.15) in the Ambrosiana Library and printed edition were used. The spatial arrangement of the market, which can be reconstructed from the data abovementioned, is evident from Table I. It shows a simpler organization in accordance with the type of production of commodities and goods offered for sale that will be observed in later phases of its development.

The following features appear worthy of note:-

Craft Groupings

Joiners, smiths, lance-makers, makers of dagger-sheath covers and druggists. Cuppers, blood-letters, butchers and the sheep-and-goat market form one unit. Silversmiths and manufacturers of dagger blade are adjacent to one another. Shoemakers are separate from the other crafts.

Banana sellers have their shops in the Silversmiths' Market. This is evidence that organization by occupation is not always consistently followed.

The Straw Market, Sūq al-Tibn(?) and the unidentified Sūq al-Lasāsīn constitute a market formation that seems to lie outside the markets already mentioned. The same applies to the Sūq al-'Irāqī which was probably an import market.

The Cloth Market is separate from the craftsmen's markets, provision markets and the sheep-and-goats market. Al-Rāzī does not mention the markets of our own day: turners, tinsmiths, water-pipe manufacturers, tailors, cap-makers and ropemakers, nor yet the *Qāt* Market, Grain Market, Grape Market, Cattle, Donkey, and Camel Market.

Instructive references are made by al-Rāzī about the change of sites of some occupations, effected in his time; a) the Oil Market located at the earlier Meat Market, where also the cuppers and blood-letters pursued their professions.[11] b) on the same site, i.e. the earlier Butchers'-Cuppers'-Bloodletters' Market were located the druggists' shops.[12] It is implied that certain occupational groups had close relationships with mosques when for example, a Masjid al-Baqqālīn[13] is called the Provision Merchants' Mosque and a Masjid al-Ṣayāqil the Dagger-blade Polishers' Mosque.[14] At the time of al-Rāzī the latter was situated in the Firewood Market. With regard to the Masjid Sūq al-Lasāsīn al-Rāzī notes that the 'Abbāsid governor in Ṣan'ā', Muḥammad b. Khālid al-Barmakī, had built a mint (Dār al-Ḍarb or Dār al-Barmakī) in the

12 Op. cit., a, fol., 11 a, 115 b.
13 Op. cit., a, fol. 105 a.
14 Op. cit., b, 232.

Table 1 The grouping of occupations in the Market according to al-Rāzī

Sūq al-Najjārīn[1] (Joiners)
Sūq al-Ḥaddādīn[2] (Smiths)
Ḥānūt al-Ḥirāb[3] (Lance shops)
Sūq al-Khazzārīn[4] (Belt makers)
Sūq al-'Aṭṭārīn[5] (Druggists)

Sūq al-Bazz[6] (Cloth Market)

Sūq al-Ṣawagh[7] (Silversmiths)
Sūq al-Ṣayāqil[8] (Blade polishers)
Sūq b. Maghar[9]

Sūq al-Ḥaṭab[10] (Firewood Market)
Sūq al-Tibn(?) (Straw Market)
Sūq al-Shawwāyīn[12] (Grillers)
Sūq al-Baqqālīn[13] (Provision dealers)
Sūq al-Sammānīn[14] (Ghee dealers)
Sūq al-Mawz[15] (Banana Market)
Sūq ibn Ma'n[16]
Sūq al-'Irāqiyyīn[17]

Sūq al-Lasāsīn[18]

Sūq al-Tabbānīn[19]

Sūq al-Ḥadhdhā'īn[20] (Shoemakers)
Sūq al-Ḥajjāmīn[21] (Cuppers and blood-letters)
Sūq al-Jazzārīn[22] (Butchers)
Sūq al-Ma'z[23] (Goat Market)

1 al-Rāzī, a: 112 b, 115 b.
2 Ibid, a: 112 b, 110 a, 115 b.
3 Ib., a: 112 b.
4 Ib., a: 110 a, 115 b.
5 Ib., a: 115 b.
6 Ib., a: 116 a.
7 Ib., a: 110 b, 113 a, 116 a.
8 Ib., a: 110 b.
9 Ib., a: 109 b.
10 Ib., b: 232.
11 Ib., a: 105 a.
12 Ib., a: 116 b.
13 Ib., a: 116 a.
14 Ib., a: 116 a.
15 Ib., a: 116 a.
16 Ib., a: 113 b.
17 Ib., a: 69 a.
18 Ib., a: 110 b.
19 Ib., b: 106 passim.
20 Ib., a: 116 b.
21 Ib., a: 110 a.
22 Ib., a: 115 b, 117 a.
23 Ib., a: 110 a, 117 a.

Sūq al-Tabbānīn (Straw Sellers' Market). Near it he had a mosque erected which, in the time of al-Rāzī, was known as Masjid Sūq al-Lasāsīn.[15]

The Market in the Eighteenth Century

For this period the *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* constitutes the most important primary source. The market structure, as revealed by the *Qānūn* approximates closely to the present pattern in its basic characteristics. Compared with the market at the time of al-Rāzī the organization of the occupational groups appears more diverse and more rigid (Table II). Three producer groups are clearly perceptible—metal workers, wood and textile processing, bakers and millers. The silversmiths are treated next to the cloth market. The commodity markets can be classified into four distinct groups of goods—provision and speciality markets, cloth markets, livestock markets including a firewood and fodder market, and the import market comprising the shops of druggists, silk merchants and dealers in household furnishings. For a knowledge of the social structure of the market it is an important fact that in the *Qānūn* the institution of the Shaykh al-Sūq is mentioned for the first time, which will be dealt with more closely later.[16] The same applies to the Bāniyāns, for whom see pp. 432-5.[17]

Craftsmanship in the markets shows a greater degree of specialisation evident in the trades not mentioned by al-Rāzī which have emerged since his time—coppersmiths, farriers, tinsmiths, gun-barrel manufacturers, key-makers, saddlers, tailors, ropemakers, makers of water-pipes, plangi-dyers, bakers with *farrānīn* and millers. Instead of lance manufacture which is no longer mentioned, we find a new occupation, gun-stock makers. This new craft reflects the change in armaments of the Yemenis since the Ottoman occupation, for the Mamlūks made the inhabitants of Yemen acquainted with firearms.[18] In the *Qānūn* we do not find al-Lasāsīn or the designation Ḥadhdhā'īn. The shoemakers are included with the tinsmiths in Sūq al-Minqālah wa-'l-Iskāfiyyah.

In contrast to al-Rāzī the veterinary surgeons are mentioned as a new profession. The trade in provisions, fruit and such specialities as stimulants and fine wares shows itself very much subdivided. There is a grain market, raisin market, tobacco market, a salt market (Sūq al-Milḥ) and, for the first time, *qāt* and the henna markets appear, yet there is no banana market.

In the cloth trade the more varied supply of goods is evidenced by the fact that, alongside the cloth market (Sūq al-Bazz) already mentioned by al-Rāzī, the following textile markets are distinguished—Sūq al-Ḥaḍramī, in which indigo dyed materials were on sale, and Sūq al-Ḥarīr, the Silk Market. Of course, the latter might be included with the druggists and Sūq al-Ḥalaqah in a complex in which imported goods preponderated. Finally, the Sūq al-Maṣāwin is mentioned as another textile market in which the veils/headwraps for covering the female head and shoulders are obtained.

Alongside the sheep-and-goat market, already known to al-Rāzī, a Cattle and Donkey Market, a Horse and Mule Market, a Camel Market and a Fodder Market have become established, thus enlarging the supply of country products. The connection between the sheep-and-goat market and the butchers remains unaffected by the changes.

The Market in non-Arabian Sources

In the earliest European description written by the Bolognese, Lodovico di Varthema, who visited Ṣan'ā' in the early 16th century, we find no information about the market. The Englishman, John Jourdain, who stayed in Ṣan'ā' about 100 years later—in June 1609—refers to the market in his report:

> The trade of this cittye is cheiflie with the Benaianes of Guzaratt, which bringeth yearly all kinde of comodities, as bastaes, shasses, cotton wool, with other stuffs of their countrye, and lye here as factours for the Banians of Aden, Moucha, Zida, to whom they yeild there accompts; for in each of those places before mentioned there is one cheife Banane as Consull or such like, which doth all the buysines in each place. With the Banians marchannts I had some conference concerninge their trade and our countrye comodities, whoe told me that this cittie would vent yearlie aboute 2000 bahars of yron and greate store of tynne, and lead alsoe would sell at a good rate, broad cloth about 100 peeces of violett or stamell and Venice redds, with some steele; this cittye yealdinge little comodities for marchandize, onlie some fua alias Bua, which the Banans doe use to carrie much to the Indies to dye red withall, and make greate proffitt thereby.[19]

Two facts deserve our attention: first, the part played by the Bāniyāns[20] in the commercial sector, and second, the small yield from trade. Now there is not a single representative of this Indian merchant caste in Ṣan'ā'.

The report by Carstein Niebuhr, who stayed in Ṣan'ā' from 16th to 26th July 1763, constitutes an additional source. His description does not prove very detailed, as he was under severe

15 Op. cit., b, 106 passim.
16 *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, 282, no. 1, ii.
17 Op. cit., 300.
18 Al-Nahrawālī al-Makkī, 21.
19 Winter Jones; see further L. Forrer, 20.
20 Cf. section on Bāniyāns, pp.432-35.

Table 2 The grouping of occupations in the Market according to *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*

Al-Miḥdādah[1]
(Blacksmiths' Market)
Al-Bayāṭirah[2]
(Veterinary surgeons or farmers)
Al-Minjārah[3]
(Carpentry Market)
Ṣunnā' al-Maghāliq[4] wa-'l-Dawāyir
(Lock and Key Smiths)
Al-Majariyyīn[5]
(Gun-stock makers)
Sūq al-Naḥās[6]
Brass Market)
Sūq al-Minqālah[7]
(Sandalmakers' Market)
Sūq al-Iskāfiyyah[8]
(Shoemakers' Market)

Al-Khabbāzīn[9]
(Bakers)
Al-Farrānīn[10]
(Bread-oven Men)
Al-Madāqiqah[11]
(Flour Millers)
Al-Ṣabbāghīn[12]
(Plangi)-dyers)
Al-Qaṣṣābīn[13]
(Pipe-tube makers)
(Al-Makhāyiṭah[14]
(Tailors)
Al-Sarrājīn[15]
(Saddlers)

Sūq al-Mi'ṭārah[16]
(Spicery Market)
Sūq al-Ḥarīr[17]
(Silk Market)
Sūq al-Ḥalaqah[18]

Sūq al-Ghanam[19]
(Sheep-and-goat Market)
Al-Majzarah[20]
(Meat Market)
Sūq al-Ḥaṭab[21]
(Firewood Market)
Sūq al-Baqar[22] wa-'l-Bahā'im
(Cattle and donkey Market)
Sūq al-Jimāl[23]
(Camel Market)
Sūq al-Khayl[24] wa-'l-Bighāl
(Horse and mule Market)
Sūq al-'Alaf[25]
(Fodder Market)

Sūq al-Saman[26] wa-'l-Salīṭ
(Ghee Market)
Sūq al-Qishr[27]
(Coffee-husk Market)
Sūq al-Tunbaq[28]
(Tobacco Market)
Sūq al-Tutun al-Aswad[29]
(Tobacco Market)
Sūq al-Ḥabb[30]
(Grain Market)
Sūq al-Milḥ[31]
(Salt Market)
Sūq al-Zabīb[32]
(Raisin Market)
Sūq al-Ḥinnā[33]
Sūq al-Qāt[34]

Sūq al-Fiḍḍah[35]
(Silver Market)
Sūq al-Bazz[36]
(Cloth Market)
Sūq al-Ḥaḍramī[37]
(Market of Ḥaḍramī Cloth)
Sūq al-Maṣāwin[38]
(Head-scarves Market)

1 *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, supra, 296, no. 29.
2 Ibid, 296, no. 30.
3 Ib., 297, no. 31.
4 Ib., 297, no. 32.
5 Ib., 297, no. 32.
6 Ib., 298, no. 34.
7 Ib., 298, no. 35.
8 Ib., 298, no. 35.
9 Ib., 295, no. 28.
10 Ib., 295, no. 28a.
11 Ib., 295, no. 28a.
12 Ib., 294, no. 27a.
13 Ib., 294, no. 27a.
14 Ib., 294, no. 27a/c.
15 Ib., 295, no. 27.
16 Ib., 286, no. 6.
17 Ib., 286, no. 8.
18 Ib., 286, no. 9.
19 Ib., 291, no. 20.
20 Ib., 291, no. 20.
21 Ib., 291, no. 21.
22 Ib., 292, no. 22.
23 Ib., 292, no. 23.
24 Ib., 292, no. 24.
25 Ib., 293, no. 25.
26 Ib., 287, no. 10.
27 Ib., 286 seq., no. 10.
28 Ib., 287, no. 11.
29 Ib., 288, no. 12.
30 Ib., 288, no. 14.
31 Ib., 289, no. 15.
32 Ib., 289, no. 16.
33 Ib., 289, no. 17.
34 Ib., 290, no. 18.
35 Ib., 283, no. 3.
36 Ib., 282, no. 1.
37 Ib., 283, no. 2.
38 Ib., 294, no. 27, a/b.

mental strain on account of the tragic fate that had pursued the members of the Danish expedition. In this, local circumstances also played a part, by which he felt handicapped during his stay. 'I wish I had been able to make an exact ground-plan of this city. But when I went into the street, I was immediately surrounded by a crowd of inquisitive people and accompanied by them everywhere, and under these circumstances I did not consider it advisable to look at the compass very often and to note the lines and angles . . . Most of the streets on the ground-plan have, as may be supposed, been indicated at discretion.'[21] From this reference, critical as to source, it becomes clear that we cannot use his plan of the town for evaluation.[22] There remains only the short rendering of his observations.

> Moreover, we find in Sana, as in all large eastern commercial towns, big caravanserais (Simsera, Oqal) for merchants and travellers, likewise special sites and quarters of the town, where wood, charcoal, iron, grapes, corn, butter, salt or bread are sold. In the bread market there are only women sitting. We can also find in Sana a market where old clothes can be exchanged for new. There are also those who deal in Indian, Persian, Turkish, and other goods; also those who sell all kinds of spices and medicaments, who sell kaad leaves, all kinds of dried and fresh fruit such as pears, apricots, peaches, figs etc.; carpenters, smiths, shoemakers, saddlers, tailors, cap-makers, stonemasons, goldsmiths, barbers, cooks, bookbinders, even writers who for a few stivers compose a petition to the Imam or to some other notability, who also teach children and copy books, and in the daytime sit in their small booths in a certain quarter of the town.[23]

Two facts stand out from this description. The series of craftsmen mentioned—joiners, smiths, shoemakers, saddlers corresponds to the order previously established. The order of the remaining craftsmen remains unclear.

The sources quoted so far belong to the 17th and 18th centuries and have hardly added to our picture in any extent worthy of mention, apart from some information obtained from Arabic sources. For the situation in the 19th century the description of the market by R. Manzoni proves informative, especially as for the time being we have no Arabic sources at our disposal for this period.

> Es-suq, or the market, is in the centre of the town. It consists of intersecting streets. The Arabs are divided into as many corporations as there are Arabs who practice them (at the head of each stands a Sheikh); hence there are to be found in the same streets workers in the same occupations and dealers in the same goods. Cabinet makers, mechanics, manufacturers of shovels and knives, traders in pipes, candlesticks and metal cooking utensils, druggists (traders in coffee, incense, perfumes and drugs), coal merchants, cloth merchants, ropemakers, pipe cleaners etc., always have their shops and businesses next to one another in the same streets. On the main square there is situated the corn market; on another, by Bab al-Yemen, the market for stoves of burnt clay, near it the fruit and vegetable market (on the Makhazem er-Robali Square). Near the Et-Tauasci (al-Ṭawāshī) Square there is situated the bread market and the one for green fodder. The only slaughter-house of Sana-el-Medine is situated immediately on the right side of the entrance to Bab al-Yemen.[24]

It is difficult to derive a satisfactory picture of the exact location of the crafts mentioned by R. Manzoni since he first refers to the organization by occupation, but he then goes on to the craftsmen and merchants whose workplaces and shops were

21 C. Niebuhr, 1774, 418, passim.
22 In a lettter from Bombay to Gräf J. H. E. Bernstorff, at that time the Danish Foreign Minister, dated 20 October 1974, Niebuhr explains that he could not draw a map to scale of Ṣan'ā'.
Danske Rejks Archiv.T.K.V.A. ALM.AFD III 4.Arabiske Rejse II, 1763-70. 62 e.B.C. 26.
23 Op. cit., 1774, 42.
24 R. Manzoni, 122. The original text runs,

> *Es-suq,* o mercato, e il quartiere centrale della citta. E tutto a viuzze che s'incrocicchiano tra di esse. Gli Arabi sono divisi in tante corporazioni quanti sono i mestieri che fanno (a capo di ciascuna di esse sta uno scekh); quindi al *Suq,* nelle medesime strade stanno tutti i lavoranti nello stesso genere, o i mercanti della stessa merce. Falegnami, fabbri-ferrai, fabbricatori di spade e di coltelli, venditori di pipe, di candelabri e di vasi metallici, droghieri (venditori di caffe, incenso, profumi e droghe), carbonai, mercanti di stoffe, fabbricatori di corde, pulitori di canne di pipe, ecc., ecc., hanno i loro magazzini o botteghe gli uni vicini agli altri, nelle stesse vie. Nel piazzale centrale trovasi il mercato del grano; in un altro, verso Bab el-Yemen, il mercato delle stoviglie di terra cotta; vicino a questo il mercato delle frutta ed erbaggi (nel piazzale del Makhazem er-Robali). Verso piazza *El-Tanasci* v'e il mercato del pane e delle provvigioni verdi per le stalle.
> L'unico macello di Sanaa el-Medine trovasi a destra appena entrati da Bab el-Yemen.

situated in the same street. Hence this part of the description should perhaps not be taken into account because of its vagueness. On the other hand, the following information is important: 1) the existence of a market in which pottery ovens were sold and of a fruit and vegetable market in the Bāb al-Yaman, except that the latter is now adapted to present-day conditions. 2) the location of the Bread Market and Fodder Market at al-Ṭawāshī Square. 3) the location of the abattoir east of Bāb al-Yaman.

Manzoni's town plan of 1879 contains several mistakes in the location of the mosques and hence must be treated with caution, and be regarded as a source based on the older Turkish town plan made during the governorship of Muṣṭafā 'Āṣim Pāshā 1291/1874. From it we derive important information: 1) The connecting road between the Bāb al-Yaman and the Market is marked as Ṭarīq al-Sūq. Nowadays this quarter forms part of Sūq Bāb al-Yaman. 2) The present Sūq al-Naẓārah is entered as Sūq al-Milḥ; its southern boundary corresponds to the present line of demarcation between Sūq Naẓārah and Sūq Bāb al-Yaman. This circumstance suggests that this part of the market in Sūq al-Naẓārah must have been so named only after 1874. 3) The Grape Market, Sūq al-'Inab, is situated north of Sūq al-Milḥ. 4) The market area entered on the town plan corresponds approximately to the present market centre.

Both sources, R. Manzoni's description and the Turkish town plan, accordingly prove relevant to the discovery of changes in the market's structure. Belonging to the preceding century, they provide an important prerequisite for the evaluation of oral information which perhaps does not link up chronologically but goes back to the end of the 13th/19th century.

The Market in Ottoman and pre-Republic Times According to Oral Tradition

The earlier history of Sūq al-Ḥalaqah and legends associated with it are discussed on p. 159a seq.

According to my authorities Sūq al-Ḥalaqah is said to have been called Sūq al-Ḥarāj in earlier times because goods were auctioned there. On this area there are said to have been no shops. The traders sat before their booths, tent-like constructions, surrounded by low stone walls, or they offered their wares in the open air. This information corresponds to al-Qāḍī Ḥusayn Aḥmad al-Sayāghī's observation that traders in the market sat on chairs before their booths because there were no shops.[25]

We shall now summarize the recollections of my informants about the market in general:

The Qāt Market was situated in the same place as it is today.

On the area of the present Sūq Bāb al-Yaman there were no shops, only peripatetic traders (*mufarrishīn*), who offered chiefly vegetables for sale. Hence this part was called Sūq al-Khuḍrah, the Vegetable Market.

By al-Qaṭṭā' well oil lamps (*misrājah*, pl., *masārij*) were sold.

The present Fodder Market (Sūq al-'Alaf) used to be called Sūq al-Qamariyyah because alabaster windows were sold there. Between the present Sūq al-Janābī and Sūq al-Bazz lay the Sūq al-Balas, where prickly pears and oranges were on sale.

In Sūq al-Ḥumaydī and Sūq al-Jadīd was a big warehouse (*samsarah*) which was also called al-Khān. In the part still preserved wholesalers have today established themselves.

Opposite Sūq al-Ḥumaydī lay Samsarat al-Bārūt, a powder magazine that was destroyed by an explosion during the Turkish Occupation.

On the site of Sūq al-Jadīd (No. 19) there stood a warehouse, Samsarat al-Khawḍamī.

Jumruk al-Qishr used to be called Samsarah al-Shāmī, where oil and *qishr* were stored.[26] Coffee beans and especially *qishr* were kept in Samsarat al-Majjah. In the approach street from Bāb al-Qaṣr to the Market were situated the shops of European merchants (Italians, Greeks, Russians and French). This part was called Sūq al-Naṣārā.

Summary

The present market organization is the result of various structural and spatial changes. These changes are to be seen in close association with the emergence of new needs, e.g. *qāt* consumption, the use of firearms, with the expansion of the import trade and the extension of business relations with the rural interior. The growth of these relations can be explained by the continuing reduction of urban areas suitable to cultivation in consequence of increased building. This tendency is causing a progressive dependence of the urban population on the inflow of agricultural produce from the country. The extent of this becomes clear when it is realized that in the year 1973 the share of country products in the gross annual expenditure amounted to 36.35% of all expenditure, which corresponds to a percentage of 66.98% of the total quota of foodstuffs. The ratio of the foodstuffs in the total expenditure comes to 54.27%.

Worthy of comment, moreover, is the large percentage of *awqāf*, which underlines the economic significance of this institution. The *waqf* institution has probably exercised a permanent influence on the rise of the Ṣan'ā' market as we may deduce by examination of the data provided by al-Rāzī.

Taking al-Rāzī's work as a starting point, from which the development of the market can be sketched, we can establish three phases of changes relevant to its organization: 1) the phase that *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* reflects in the 12th-13th/18th-19th century, 2) the 13th/late 19th century phase, 3) the phase after the proclamation of the Republic.

1 The market organization in *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'* is characterized essentially by the following feature compared with the situation that al-Rāzī portrays in the 11th century, namely increased differentiation of the commodity markets. What is striking is the relatively large percentage of the supply of rural products, which is reflected in the corresponding number of markets. The various branches of handicraft production have become more differentiated because of increased specialization and are relocated. The spatial organization, particularly the division into two production zones, could roughly correspond to that of the present day.

2 The market in the 19th century is distinguished primarily by the extension of the southern peripheral market, Sūq Bāb al-Yaman, where certain agricultural products, mostly fruit and vegetables, were exposed for sale and in fact are still sold there today. As contrasted with the present situation individual specialised markets formerly in the market centre, e.g. the Grape Market and the Bread Market, are today located on other sites.

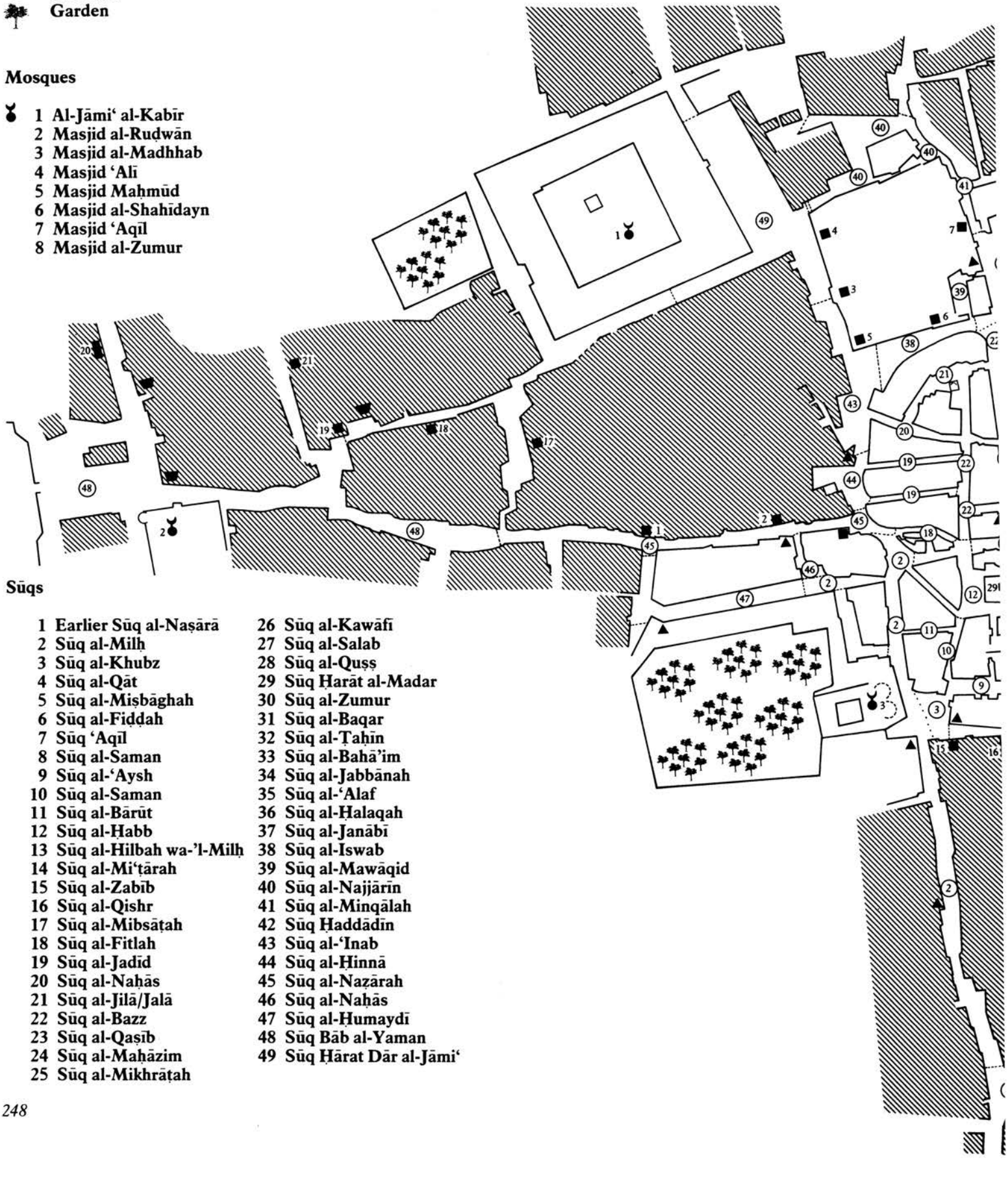
3 With regard to the present organization of the Market certain essential characteristics are to be remarked. These include the transfer of individual markets within the market centre, e.g. the Grape Market and the Bread Market; the vacating of markets in which indigenous products such as oil lamps and alabaster windows were sold, due to the town's being supplied with electricity and the importation of petroleum and other goods such as glass windows; the establishment of new markets in which imported manufactured goods are sold (in connection with which must be mentioned the change-over of technical equipment of some craftsmen, especially joiners, due to the adoption of machinery); structural transformation of the Camel Market into a place for dealing in industrial imported manufactures of a technical nature and assorted goods; the absence of a Horse and Mule Market in consequence of the mechanization of the means

25 These figures are based on the statements given in the Yemen Arab Republic, *Report on the First Round of the Family Budget Survey in Ṣan'ā'*, 16-24.

26 Cf. *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, 286, no. 10.

Map of the Sūq

▲ Watchman's cabin
Samsarah
----- Sūq Border
[A] Jumruk al-Qishr
[B] Jumruk al-Zabīb
Oil Press
Garden

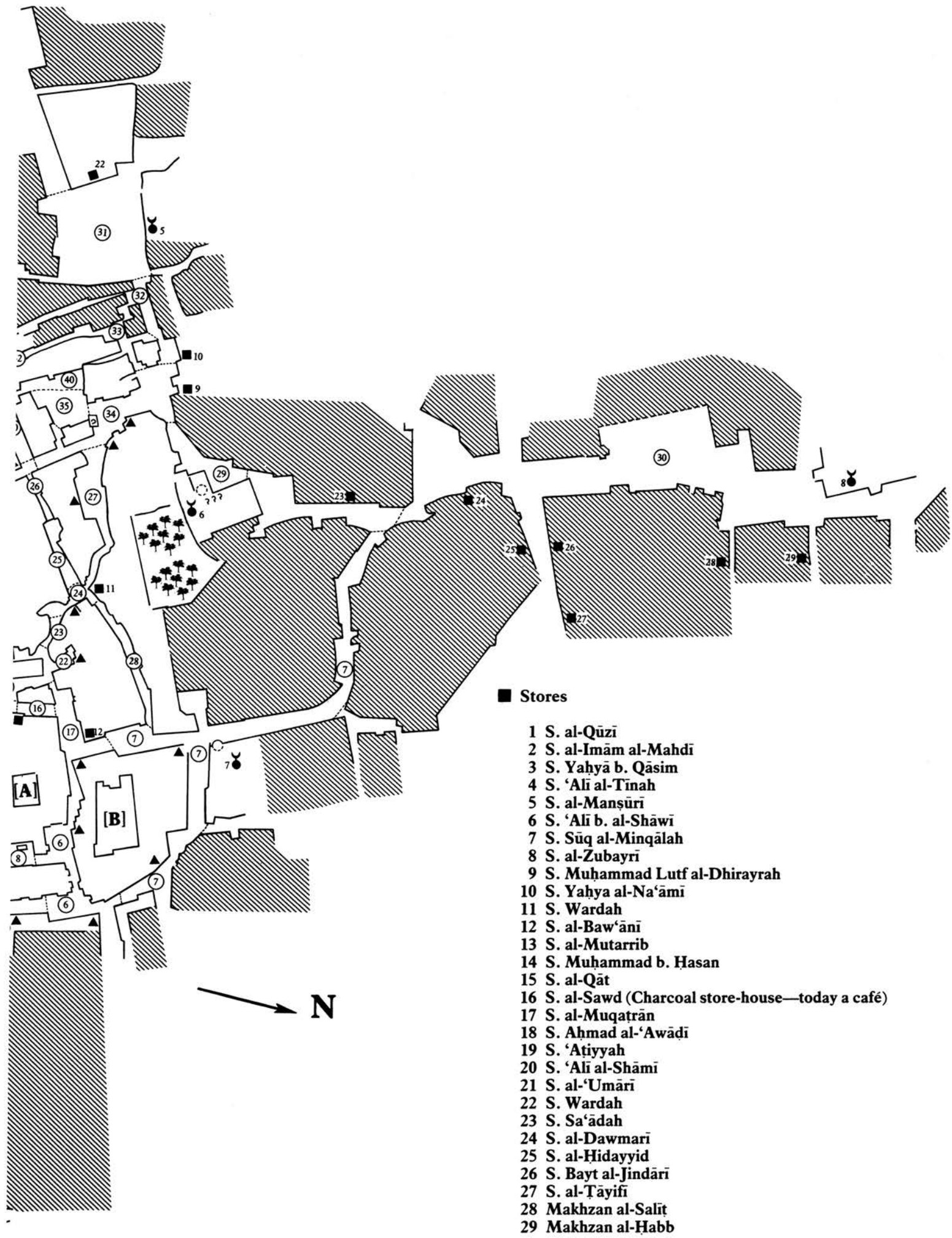


Mosques

1 Al-Jāmi' al-Kabīr
2 Masjid al-Ruḍwān
3 Masjid al-Madhhab
4 Masjid 'Alī
5 Masjid Maḥmūd
6 Masjid al-Shahīdayn
7 Masjid 'Aqīl
8 Masjid al-Zumur

Sūqs

1 Earlier Sūq al-Naṣārā
2 Sūq al-Milḥ
3 Sūq al-Khubz
4 Sūq al-Qāt
5 Sūq al-Miṣbāghah
6 Sūq al-Fiḍḍah
7 Sūq 'Aqīl
8 Sūq al-Saman
9 Sūq al-'Aysh
10 Sūq al-Saman
11 Sūq al-Bārūt
12 Sūq al-Ḥabb
13 Sūq al-Hilbah wa-'l-Milḥ
14 Sūq al-Mi'ṭārah
15 Sūq al-Zabīb
16 Sūq al-Qishr
17 Sūq al-Mibsāṭah
18 Sūq al-Fitlah
19 Sūq al-Jadīd
20 Sūq al-Naḥās
21 Sūq al-Jilā/Jalā
22 Sūq al-Bazz
23 Sūq al-Qaṣīb
24 Sūq al-Maḥāzim
25 Sūq al-Mikhrāṭah
26 Sūq al-Kawāfī
27 Sūq al-Salab
28 Sūq al-Quṣṣ
29 Sūq Ḥarāt al-Madar
30 Sūq al-Zumur
31 Sūq al-Baqar
32 Sūq al-Ṭaḥīn
33 Sūq al-Bahā'im
34 Sūq al-Jabbānah
35 Sūq al-'Alaf
36 Sūq al-Ḥalaqah
37 Sūq al-Janābī
38 Sūq al-Iswab
39 Sūq al-Mawāqid
40 Sūq al-Najjārīn
41 Sūq al-Minqālah
42 Sūq Ḥaddādīn
43 Sūq al-'Inab
44 Sūq al-Ḥinnā
45 Sūq al-Naẓārah
46 Sūq al-Naḥās
47 Sūq al-Ḥumaydī
48 Sūq Bāb al-Yaman
49 Sūq Ḥārat Dār al-Jāmi'



■ **Stores**

1 S. al-Qūzī
2 S. al-Imām al-Mahdī
3 S. Yaḥyā b. Qāsim
4 S. ʿAlī al-Tīnah
5 S. al-Manṣūrī
6 S. ʿAlī b. al-Shāwī
7 S. Sūq al-Minqālah
8 S. al-Zubayrī
9 S. Muḥammad Lutf al-Dhirayrah
10 S. Yaḥya al-Naʿāmī
11 S. Wardah
12 S. al-Bawʿānī
13 S. al-Mutarrib
14 S. Muḥammad b. Ḥasan
15 S. al-Qāt
16 S. al-Sawd (Charcoal store-house—today a café)
17 S. al-Muqaṭrān
18 S. Aḥmad al-ʿAwāḍī
19 S. ʿAṭiyyah
20 S. ʿAlī al-Shāmī
21 S. al-ʿUmārī
22 S. Wardah
23 S. Saʿādah
24 S. al-Dawmarī
25 S. al-Ḥidayyid
26 S. Bayt al-Jindārī
27 S. al-Ṭāyifī
28 Makhzan al-Salīṭ
29 Makhzan al-Ḥabb

of transport (of the other livestock markets there remains only the Donkey Market, whilst the Cattle Market is mostly outside the town); the increasing integration of the peripheral market into the market centre; the transfer of the customs office outside the town, and the transfer of the money depository since Samsarat Muḥammad b. Ḥasan (cf. pp. 191b, 278a), which served as one, was plundered in 1948.

The Market and its Socio-economic Connection with Urban Society

As set forth in the Introduction, it will be attempted to portray the involvement of the Market with the complexity of urban society by applying the concept of alliance groups.

The kinship group, the corporative group bound to the Market, the social classes and the organization by residence are to be understood as groups of associates.

The Kinship Group

Patrilineal descent forms the basis of the kinship group. In order to understand the inner structure of the kinship group it is necessary to set out the terms of relationship employed. The terms are rendered by a descriptive notation the principle of which must be explained to the reader unacquainted with anthropological literature. This notation is based on the following designations: Fa = Father, Mo = Mother, So = Son, Da = Daughter, Chi = children, Br = Brother, Si = Sister, Hu = Husband, Wi = Wife; age relative to the person is rendered by e = elder, y = younger. By the combination of these designations a kinship term, always regarded as ego-centric, can be exactly defined. For the better understanding of the kinship terminology used in Ṣan'ā' attention should be drawn to the fact that these terms come into the category of reference terms, i.e. the terms with which one designates a relative in the presence of a third party. Terms of address, used in speaking to a relative, are, as far as I could determine, identical with the reference terms—apart from a few designations. Thus the person addresses his step-father as *'amm* (FaBr), a custom probably rooted in the Levirate marriage. In a polygynous family group the person calls his father's wives—apart from his mother—*khālah* (MoSi). That this form of address is derivable from sororal polygyny would be quite conceivable, but for the time being it must remain an open question. Address terms are Si = *shaqīqah,* if the person is male and Br = *ṣinway* if the person is female.

Blood Relations

1 The ego generation	
Br. e.	*akh kabīr*
Br. y	*akh ṣaghīr*
Si. e.	*ukht kabīrah*
Si. y.	*ukht ṣaghīrah*
Br. Brother from the same father	*akh min al-ab*
Si. Sister from the same father	*ukht min al-ab*
Br. Brother from the same mother	*akh min al-umm*
Si. Sister from the same mother	*ukht min al-umm*
FaBrSo.	*ibn al-'amm*
FaBrDa	*bint al-'amm*
FaSiSo	*ibn al-'ammah*
FaSiDa	*bint al-'ammah*
MoSiSo	*ibn al-khālah*
MoSiDa	*bint al-khālah*
MoBrSo	*ibn al-khāl*
MoBrDa	*bint al-khāl*
2 First ascending generation	
Fa	*ab, wālid*
Mo	*umm, wālidah*
FaBr	*'amm*
FaSi	*'ammah*
MoSi	*khālah*
MoBr	*khāl*
3 Second ascending generation	
FaFa	*sīd*
MoFa	*sīd*
FaMo	*jaddah*
MoMo	*jaddah*
4 First descending generation	
So e	*ibn, walad kabīr*
So y	*ibn, walad ṣaghīr*
Da e	*bint kabīr*
Da y	*bint ṣaghīr*
BrSo	*ibn al-akh*
BrDa	*bint al-akh*
SiSo	*ibn al-ukht*
SiDa	*bint al-ukht*
5 Second descending generation	
SoSo	*ibn al-ibn, ibn al-walad, ḥafid*
SoDa	*bint al-ibn, bint al-walad, ḥafidah*
DaSo	*ibn al-bint, sibṭ*
DaDa	*bint al-bint, sibṭah*

Relations by Marriage

BrWi	*zawjat al-akh, ḥamāh*
SiHu	*nasīb, ṣihr*
HuBr	*ḥamāya* (lit., *my* brother in law)
HuSi	*ṣihrah*
WiBr	*nasīb*
WiSi	*nasībah*
HuFa	*'amm*
HuMo	*'ammah*
WiFa	*'amm*
WiMo	*'ammah*
FaBrWi	*'ammah*
FaSiHu	*zawj al-'ammah, nasīb*
MoSiHu	*zawj al-khālah, nasīb*
MoBrWi	*zawjah al-khāl, khālah, nasībah*
FaWi	*khālah* in remarriage or polygany
MoHu	*'amm* in remarriage
WiSo	*rabīb* in remarriage
WiDa	*rabībah* in remarriage.

Analysis of the kinship terms enables us to reveal the inner structure of the kinship group, and the legal obligations resulting from membership and status. The legal rights do not signify rights in respect of members only; this would be rather too simple. Economic considerations come into play too. In such a group consanguinity and affinity are not merely mechanisms for establishing descent, but also regulate the economic relations within the descent group and determine the external economic relations with it. Conceptually, primacy goes to ensuring the fundamentals of existence, but regard has to be made to the important fact that the obligations to render assistance, deriving from the status of a member, involve lasting consequences for his economic actions. One should think of blood money, for example, for the contribution to which legal action can be taken against the members of one's descent group. Hence our primary interest lies in the economic regulations affecting the relations between kinsfolk. First of all, however, the aim is to reveal the fundamental features of the present system of relationship.

In accordance with patrilineal descent there is first a sharp distinction between paternal and maternal relatives. This distinction is expressed etymologically in the designation *laḥmī* (my flesh) for the paternal line, and *ahlī*, my family, or *bayt al-khāl* for the maternal group of relatives. The use of *laḥm*, flesh, in this sense is ancient, for in al-Wāqidī's *al-Maghāzī*, ed. Marsden Jones, Cairo-Oxford, 1966, II, 612, Suhayl speaks to the Prophet of 'those relatives and flesh of ours (*hā'ulā'i aqāribu-nā wa-laḥmu-nā*)'.

The criterion of relative age, i.e. senior and junior, is expressed only in the ego generation and in the first descending generation by the adjectives old and young. The relationship terms for relatives of the ascending generation designate the actual status at the same time.

The terms in the ego generation, in the first ascending generation and in the descending generation are characterized by bifurcation, by which it is clearly indicated whether anyone is connected with the person by a male or female relation. In the second generation the grouping follows the merging principle, by which the lineal and collateral relatives are subsumed under one classificatory term. Among affinal relatives we find it also in the term for parent-in-law, *'amm* or *'ammah*, a designation that must be understood from the preferences for paternal parallel-cousin-marriage.

Where consanguinity becomes clear, for example, is in the obligation to call on their parents which arises among the agnates when neo-local residence is established (i.e. residence in a new locality). The same applies for married women who live separated from their parents in consequence of patri- or viri-local residence.

Attention must now be directed to the structure of the economic units firstly to the types of family that can be seen from the following table:

	Craftsmen (N=152)		Merchants (N=81)		Total (N=233)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Nuclear family (independent)	48	31.58	29	35.81	77	33.05
Extended family	72	47.37	34	41.97	106	45.49
Fraternal joint family	32	21.05	18	22.22	50	21.46
Total	152	100.00	81	100.00	233	100.00

The results of our random test reveal the following order of family types according to their frequency: extended family—independent nuclear family—fraternal joint family. The following were the reasons for the remarkably high percentage of fraternal joint family: a) lack of financial basis for founding a neo-local residence; in most cases the elder brother, who is favoured by primogeniture owing to the rules of inheritance, is in a position not to pay the younger brother his share; b) the extension of the house in the father's lifetime involving living together and c) joint management of the paternal business established by the rules of inheritance.

The fraternal joint family is based by the law of property on the *milk mushtarak*, joint ownership by brothers. Common ownership includes the paternal dwelling with all its dependencies and, as explicitly mentioned under point c) includes the father's workplace and shop. Consequently a distinction must be made between the fraternal joint family as resident community and as an economic unit. Inquiries have shown that of a total of fraternal joint families of 50 only 22% come in the last category. In a fraternal joint family that forms a resident community the brothers manage their affairs independently of one another; yet the circulation of goods on the basis of distribution is naturally more intensive[27] than among the blood (consanguineous) relatives. Yet if a fraternal joint family is also based on an economic unit, the redistribution in equal shares of the income by the elder brother ensues.

Where the types of marriage are concerned I have at my disposal information on 119 persons (80 craftsmen, 39 merchants). Of these, 112 persons lived in monogamy (94.11%), only 7 of my informants had married a second wife; hence the percentage of the total of polygonous households among the persons questioned amounts to 5.89%. Parallel-cousin-marriage (FaBrDa) with 48 cases attains a relatively high frequency of 40.34%. Regarding the stability of marriage, a count showed that 24 men had had a divorce, which corresponds to a percentage of 20.17%. As grounds for divorce, allegations were, incompatibility of the wife (11/ 45.83%), laziness (9/ 37.50%) and sterility (4/ 16.67%).[28]

After acquainting ourselves with the types of family upon which the economic unit is constituted, the question arises as to what extent the choice of profession follows the family tradition. To answer this question we must exclude those craftsmen (34) and merchants (25) who have moved to Ṣan'ā' and pursue none of the occupations associated with the family tradition, and likewise, the silver and goldsmiths engaged in an occupation not based on family tradition. From the table below it is evident that choice of occupation associated with family tradition prevails over individual choice. An important difference between craftsmen and merchants is evident in the higher percentage of individual choice among craftsmen.

	Craftsmen (N=123)		Merchants (N=56)		Total (N=179)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Family tradition	82	66.67	45	80.36	127	70.95
Individual choice	41	33.33	11	19.64	52	29.05
	123	100.00	56	100.00	179	100.00

The next question naturally concerns the size of the economic unit. For this we have the following statistics:

	Craftsmen (N=157)		Merchants (N=81)		Total (N=238)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
One-man businesses	113	71.98	65	80.24	178	74.79
Business with:						
1 Associate	11	7.01	1	1.24	12	5.04
2 Associates	25	15.92	11	13.58	36	15.13
3 Associates	6	3.82	3	3.70	9	3.78
4 Associates	2	1.27	0	0.00	2	0.84
5 Associates	0	0.00	1	1.24	1	0.42
	157	100.00	81	100.00	238	100.00

The greater part of the economic units, 74.79%, consists of one-man businesses; only 25.21% are classed as businesses run by two or more persons. In the case of craftsmen and merchants, businesses involving two associates predominate. We are naturally interested to know how the businesses that come into the plural category are composed with regard to connections with relatives. The result of my inquiries are set out in the following table:

	Craftsmen (N=44)		Merchants (N=16)		Total (N=60)	
	Number	%	Number	%	Number	%
Relatives	31	70.45	12	75.00	43	71.67
Relatives and non-relatives	6	13.64	2	12.50	8	13.33
Non-Relatives	7	15.91	2	12.50	9	15.00
Total	44	100.00	16	100.00	60	100.00

27 Cf. A. Bornstein, 15, with samples from four different regions which only show slight deviations from the rate of divorce ascertained by the author.

28 This conclusion is as an antithesis of the possible generalisation of Cl. Meillassoux's model.

As one can gather from the table, in the majority of cases in which associates are running a business they are relatives (71.66%). Further research shows that they are mostly (consanguineous) relatives. Apart from sons and brothers other consanguineous relatives are paid, exactly like workers, not relatives, on the basis of the current agreement for the occupational group concerned.

The compass of the economic unit is flexible: it is determined by the type of family, the extended family, the nuclear family and the fraternal joint family. In the extended family we can see the predominant type of basis for the economic unit. However, by the family types mentioned there is given only the social framework for possibilities of economic integration within a group of relatives. The function of the family economic unit is affected by an economic order of size, the size of the business, which determines its production. Our research has yielded a numerically high proportion of one-man businesses. But this signifies nothing more than the male parent's ownership of the means of production and his consequent exertion of social control on the members of his family unit, as also that the economic status of the family depends exclusively on his industry and efficiency.

To assess the consequences arising from this situation it is first necessary to examine a further economic component, the division of labour between the sexes within the family, and then to clarify the structure of authority rooted in the extended family.

With regard to the division of labour between man and wife we have to limit ourselves to noting that the production of goods and trading, viz. the activities by which the economic basis of the family is assured, come exclusively within the competence of the man. Within the wife's domain belong household affairs and bringing up children. As a worker she is therefore excluded from the process of production and the commercial sector. This, however, does not mean that her social status is thereby held to be inferior, for we must not overlook her function as mother, through which not only is the continuation of the line/lineage guaranteed, but the labour force potential for the economic unit ensured.

The authority of the genitor in the family is based on three factors. Firstly, from an economic point of view it is decisively furthered by patrilineal descent by reason of the inheritance settlement associated with this descent. Secondly, it is supported by the fact that he exercises effective control of the capital (*rās al-māl*) and thirdly, by the right of distribution of income, which he exercises through his control of the means of production. Since he controls the means of production and distribution of income his agnates fall into a state of dependence especially apparent in the case of a marriage when the requisite bride price is transferred to another economic unit, the family of the bride. One must not make the mistake of interpreting this dependence, with its undeniable tendency frequently to cause conflict, as exploitation.[29] The family understands itself from an economic viewpoint, to be a unit based on a partnership (*sharīkah*) in which the agnates have a valid claim to a share (*si'āyah*) of the income produced by their work. Into this share come not only maintenance costs but also the claim to wealth accumulated by the genitor, including the means of production, assured by the inheritance settlement. Lastly one must not forget that primogeniture, the right of the first born, certainly involves an unequal distribution of the estate among the agnates. From this aspect this economic dependence of the agnates on their genitor cannot be designated as exploitation.

With regard to paternal authority one point, viz. the possible control of the marriage, needs clarification. The bestowal of the bride price required demands that the genitor should not distribute a part of the income, but accumulate it. He is motivated to take this action by the social obligation to guarantee the continuation of the line. His control of the marriage of the agnates is limited to the choice of the group with which the initiating of a relationship is deemed desirable. The bestowal of the bride price ensues independently of the work performed by the agnate because of the relatively early age of marriage between the ages of 16 and 18. The family economic unit is only dissolved, of course, if the father dies when the agnate leaves the community house based on the patri-local residence to start a neo-local household in a new district. The possibilities of independence outside the paternal family are economically limited. As a rule this is possible only when there is not enough room available for the agnate's family in the paternal home. In such a case the agnate receives an advance from the share of the inheritance due to him, even when the agnate is striving for economic independence. The economic dependence on the father is presumably terminated by this, yet the social obligation (*farḍ*) to render assistance implied by membership of a group of relatives remains in force. These include both legal obligations (payment of blood money, standing surety, etc.) and economic assistance (*ṣadaqah* or *musā'adah*), obligatory upon all (consanguinal) relatives of a person. The significance of consanguity, to which repeated reference is made, is also expressed in the ritual visitation for the exchange of gifts (*ziyārat al-arḥām*). On the occasion of al-'Īd al-Kabīr one must visit all married women of the group (FaMo, MoMo, FaSi, MoSi, MoSiDa, MoBrDa, and in case of marriage to another man, also FaBrDa) and give a present. One receives gifts in return.

The circulation of goods within the kinship group, including affinal relatives is limited to the reciprocal distribution (*badal*) of the means of existence.

Groups of Alliance Bound to the Market

Producers and merchants, united through dealing in certain goods manufactured and supplied, form groups of alliance with exclusively occupational interests. Consequently every craftsmen and merchant belongs to such a group. These groups of alliance bear no name of their own, but are called after the respective craft or market in which they are located, e.g. the People of the Cloth Market (Ahl Sūq al-Bazz).

All members of a group of associates are on equal footing (*mutakāfi*) and when they infringe its resolutions they are liable to legal disciplinary proceedings (*mutaqāḍan*), should provision be made for the prosecution of an offender. Cooperation with other sectors of the craft, and agreements individually concluded with customers, are not affected by a resolution of a group of associates.

Every group of associates is presided over by an *'āqil*. The holders of this office are elected by the members; they are personalities who appear suitable by reason of their social reputation and their qualities. Before such elections parties often form within the group of associates; yet the *'āqil* elected by a simple majority of votes is generally respected by all members of the group. Elections take place when the *'āqil* in office resigns, or is accused of acting contrary to the interests of the group. The latter occurs if he ignores its resolutions (*khiyānat al-qarār*). In such cases he receives a letter signed by all members of the group communicating to him his removal from the office. The *'āqil* is thereupon obliged to convene an election meeting.

The election meeting and extraordinary meetings summoned in case of need are mostly held in the court of a mosque.

Among the functions of the *'āqil* are: 1) supervising the implementation of resolutions passed at meetings by group members (*qā'idah al-majmū'ah*). 2) arbitrating in disputes between group members; in disputes between members of different groups of associates the *'āqil* of the group concerned

29 W. Dostal, 1974, 2 passim.

intervenes as mediator; 3) convening meetings should the economic situation or ordinance require; at these meetings, among other things, price regulations are agreed in order to guarantee a fair basis for competition for all group members; 4) representing the economic interests of the group before other groups of associates and before the authorities; 5) collecting the *zakāt* tax from members of the group. For performing his office the *'āqil* receives remuneration. As a rule it amounts to one tenth of the yield of the *zakāt* tax. There are, however, other regulations, as can be seen from Article 10 of the resolution (*qarār*) of the joiners' association, infra, which affords us an insight into the kind of resolution carried by a meeting. This document concerns the associate group of joiners, and was placed at my disposal by the 'Āqīl, al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Ṭawīl. It was drawn up on the occasion of his election. Emphasis is laid on the regulations for raw material procurement of timber imports and on fair distribution of the timber to members of this group of associates. The import of timber is controlled collectively by a veto on individual purchase. A specially appointed committee supervises the distribution of the timber, which is stored in two yards, the common property of the group of associates. By controlling the distribution of timber a common set of conditions guarantees a fair basis of competition between individual joiners.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate

This is a decision of all the joiners in the capital, Ṣan'ā', after a meeting held by all the signatories below, on the following articles:

Article 1

The *'āqil* elected is spokesman on behalf of all the joiners, he being al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Ṭawīl.

Article 2

The dealers (*muṣliḥīn*) in the sale of *ṭunub*-timber as a committee with the *'āqil* are al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ Muḥsin al-Baylī and al-Ḥājj Manṣūr al-Baylī for Bīr al-'Azab, and the Sayyid Luṭf 'Abbās and al-Ḥajj Muḥammad Ḥamzah for Ṣan'ā'. All four will meet together when need requires.

Article 3

All of us affirm that it is obligatory to collect all the *ṭunub*-timber imported to Ṣan'ā' in two depots, one in Ṣan'ā' and the other Bāb al-Balaqah. No importer may deposit *ṭunub*-timber in any but these two depots.

Article 4

After the arrival of the *ṭunub*-timber in the depot, the *'āqil,* accompanied by two honest men (*'udūl*) to be elected by the joiners, will come and then the price-fixing (*tas'īr*) at the price appropriate to the commodity will take place in the presence of the vendor.

Article 5

After price-fixing the *ṭunub*-timber imported will be distributed to the joiners, each according to his demand if what is imported is (sufficient) to meet the entire demand, but, if not, it will be distributed by shares in portions, none having the right to receive more than his portion.

Article 6

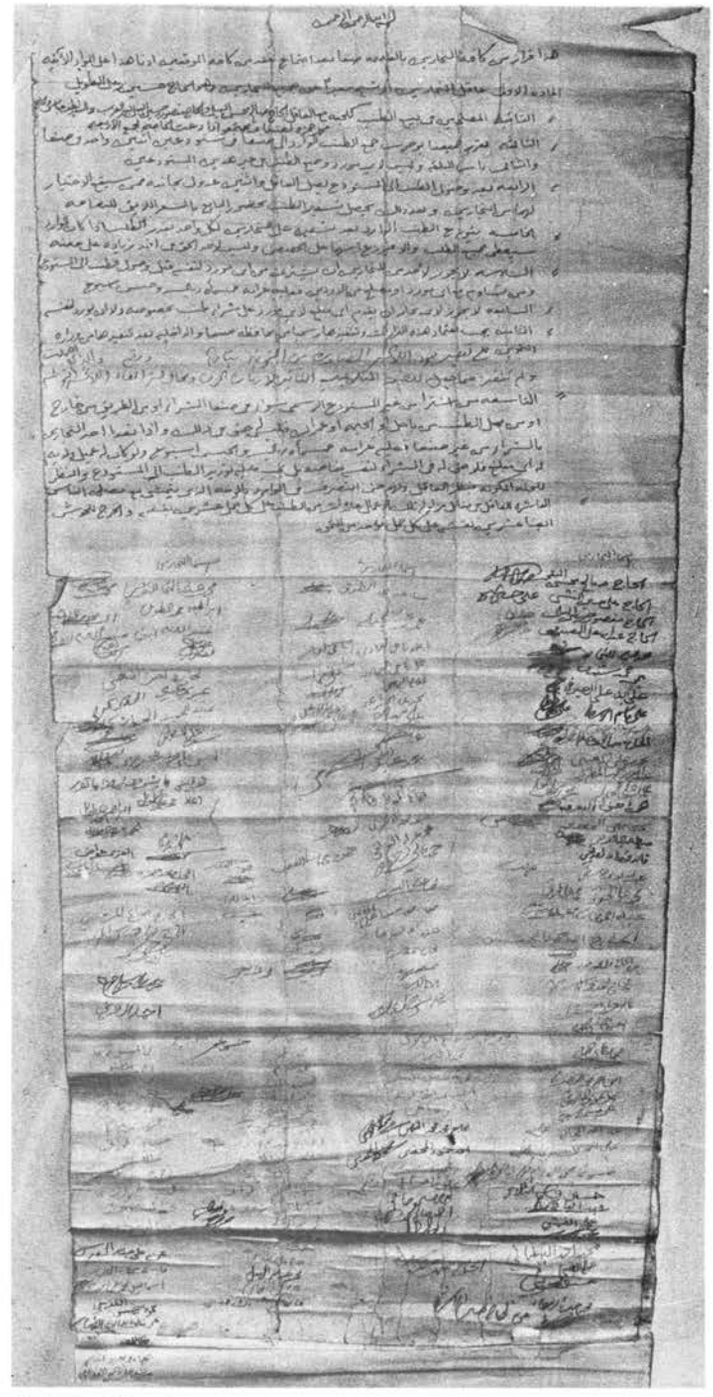
No joiner is permitted to purchase from any importer for himself before the arrival of the *ṭunub*-timber at the depot. Anyone who bargains with any importer or dealer of the first-(mentioned) is liable to be fined 500 *riyāls* and to a week's imprisonment.

Article 7

No joiner is permitted to advance any sum of money to any importer to purchase *ṭunub*-timber for himself exclusively or to import on his own account.

Article 8

These decisions must be observed and be officially put into execution by the district (*muḥāfaẓah*) of Ṣan'ā' and the Ministry



14.1 The joiners' agreement

of the Interior after they have been put into execution by the Ministry of Supply, as required by the clauses of the order (*lā'iḥah*) issued by the Supply (Ministry), dated ....., no ..... Anything which is neglected and not put into execution is one of the matters that allows the section intent to defraud, influence to upset the crafts and to attempt to render the order of the (Ministry of) Supply ineffective.

Article 9

Whosoever purchases from any (place) but the official depot, be the purchase in Ṣan'ā' or from the road outside (it), or from the *ṭunub*-timber place of Bājil, al-Ḥaymah or 'Amrān has no right to do so, and if any one of the joiners transgresses or by purchasing elsewhere than (in) Ṣan'ā' he is liable to a fine of 500 *riyāls* and to a week's imprisonment. Even if he should have an agent who has any sum of money of his he has no right to purchase for himself exclusively, but is obliged to import the *ṭunub*-timber to the depot. Supervision is the (duty of) the committee constituted under the superintendance of the *'āqil,* and they have the right to

dispose of the imports in the way consonant with the interest of the people.

Article 10
In return for undertaking these tasks the *'āqil* receives duties on the *ṭunub*-timber (of) 20 *buqshahs* on every load, as also the yard charge (*kharj*) (of) 20 *buqshahs* on every load, deducted from the price.

The meeting mentioned in the brief introduction to the document may have been held in the Masjid Qubbat al-Mahdī which is now a favourite place for the joiners to meet. All the persons mentioned in Article 2 are joiners, but the last-named specialises in the manufacture of door-locks.

Bismillāh al-Raḥmān al-Raḥīm

Hādhā qarār min kāffat al-najjārīn bi-'l-'āṣimah Ṣan'ā' ba'd ijtimā' 'uqida min kāffat al-muwaqqi'īn adnā hādhā 'ala 'l-mawādd al-ātiyah.

1. Al-Māddat al-ūlā
'Āqil al-najjārīn al-murashshaḥ mu'abbiran 'an jamī' al-najjārīn wa-huwa al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Ṭawīl.

2. Al-Thāniyah
Al-muṣliḥīn fī bay' al-ṭunub ka-lajnah ma' al-'āqil al-Ḥājj Ṣāliḥ Muḥsin al-Baylī wa-'l-Ḥājj Manṣūr Ḥusayn al-Baylī li-Bīr al-'Azab wa-'l-Sayyid Luṭf 'Abbās wa-'l-Ḥājj Muḥammad Ḥamzah li-Ṣan'ā' wa-yajtami'ū idhā da'at al-ḥājah li-jam' al-arba'ah.

3. Al-Thālithah
Nuqarrir jamī'unā bi-wujūb jam' al-ṭunub al-wārid ilā Ṣan'ā' fī mustawda'ayn ithnayn wāḥid fī Ṣan'ā' wa-'l-thānī Bāb al-Balaqah wa-laysa li-ayyi muwarrid waḍ' al-ṭunub fī ghayr hādhayn al-mustawda'ayn.

4. Al-Rābi'ah
Ba'd wuṣūl al-ṭunub ila 'l-mustawda' yaṣil al-'āqil wa-ithnayn 'udūl bi-jānib-ah mimman sa-yaqa' al-ikhtiyār lahumā min al-najjārīn wa-ba'd dhālika yaḥṣul tas'īr al-ṭunub bi-ḥuḍūr al-bāyi' bi-'l-si'r al-lā'iq li-'l-biḍā'ah

5. Al-Khāmisah
Yatawazza' al-ṭunub al-wārid ba'd tas'īr-ah 'ala 'l-najjārīn li-kull wāḥid bi-qadr al-ṭalab idhā kān al-wārid sa-yughaṭṭī jamī' al-ṭalab wa-illā fa-yuwazza' ashuman 'ala 'l-ḥiṣaṣ wa-laysa li-aḥad al-ḥaqq fī akhdh ziyādah 'alā ḥiṣṣati-hi.

6. Al-Sādisah
Lā yajūz li-aḥad min al-najjārīn an yishtarī min ayyi muwarrid li-nafsi-hi qabl wuṣūl al-ṭunub ila 'l-mustawda' wa-man tasāwam ma'a ayy muwarrid aw muṣliḥ min al-awwalīn fa-'alayhi gharāmah khams mi'at riyāl wa-ḥabs usbū'.

7. Al-Sābi'ah
Lā yajūz li-ayyi najjāran yuqaddim ayyi mablagh li-ayyi muwarrid 'alā shirā' ṭunub bi-khuṣūṣi-hi wa-lā an yuwarrid li-nafsi-hi.

8. Al-Thāminah
Yajib i'timād hādhihi al-qarārāt wa-tanfidh-hā rasmiyyān min muḥāfaẓat Ṣan'ā' wa-'l-dākhiliyyah ba'da tanfidh-hā min wizārat al-tamwīn 'alā tanfidh bunūd al-lā'iḥat al-ṣādirah min al-tamwīn bi-tārīkh . . .wa-raqam . . . wa-'lladhī uhmilat wa-lam tunaffadh mimmā ja'ala li-'l-fi'at al-mutalā'ibah al-ta'thīr li-irbāk al-ḥiraf wa-muḥāwalat ilghā' al-lā'iḥat al-tamwīniyyah.

9. Al-Tāsi'ah
Man ishtarā min ghayr al-mustawda' al-rasmī sawā'an fī Ṣan'ā' al-shirā' aw min al-ṭarīq min khārij aw min maḥall al-ṭunub min Bājil aw al-Ḥaymah aw 'Amrān fa-laysa lahu ḥaqq fī dhālika wa-idhā ta'addā aḥad al-najjārīn bi-'l-shirā' min ghayr Ṣan'ā' fa-'alayhi gharāmah khams mi'at riyāl wa-'l-ḥabs usbū' wa-law kāna lahu 'amīl wa-ladayhi lahu ayyi mablagh fa-lā ḥaqq lahu fi-'l-shirā' li-nafsi-hi khāṣṣatan bal yajibu 'alayhi tawrīd al-ṭunub ila 'l-mustawda' wa-'l-naẓar li-'l-lajnah al-mukawwanah bi-naẓar al-'āqil wa-lahum ḥaqq al-taṣarruf fi-'l-wārid bi-'l-wajh alladhī yitamashshā ma'a maṣlaḥat al-nās.

10. Al-'Āshirah
Li-'l-'āqil fī muqābil muzāwalat tilka al-a'māl 'ā'idat fi-'l-ṭunub 'alā kull ḥaml 'ishrīn buqshah wa-'l-kharj li-'l-ḥawsh ayḍan 'ishrīn buqshah 'alā kull ḥaml tu'khadh min al-thaman.

Social Classes

We conceive of the class system existing in Ṣan'ā', as groups of alliances interpreting it as a hierarchic order of such groups. To appreciate fully the identical interests of a class considered as an alliance formation the concept of class must be defined from the view point of the criteria given by the informants. Two principles determine the concept of class, the ideology of unilinear descent and society's estimation of the various occupations.[30] The ideology of unilinear descent must be seen from the following view point. In a patrilineal system of descent the claim to membership, with its legal implications depends on the genealogical context leading through the male line which becomes the decisive criterion of group membership. In other words, descent from eponymous male ancestor involves the formation of a group in which the shared consciousness of its members is based on a common descent, and thereby produces an effect of aloofness by which one is separated from those groups that do not come within this genealogical context. Hence it is expressly and repeatedly stated by those groups falling outside this context that they are *qalīl al-aṣl*, of inferior lineage, and this determines their social position. The second criterion of social aloofness consists in society's estimation of occupations. This latter is based, as we shall later explain in detail, on the distinction made among the Yemeni tribes, between those occupations the practice of which is reckoned honourable, and which are therefore engaged in by peasant craftsmen and those relegated to the socially inferior among the peasantry and those to engage in which impugns the tribesman's honour. On the basis of these two principles endogamy functions as a steering mechanism that limits the exchange in marriage, goods, wife, to circulation within the class, and, as a principle of rank, guarantees the purity of descent. Therefore endogamy is an identical interest of members of the social class.

Society in Ṣan'ā' is organized in four stable classes:[31]
1 *Sādah* (sing. *Sayyid*)
2 *Manāṣib* (sing. *Manṣūb*)
3 Bani 'l-Khums (in other parts of Yemen: *'anḍīl*, (pl., *anāḍīl*), *muzayyin* (pl. *-ah*)
4 *Akhdām*

The Sādah claim and justify their privileged position by their descent from the Prophet. From this group come also many of the ulema, those versed in jurisprudence, whose knowledge on one hand, and membership of the Sādah class on the other, qualify them to perform important functions and occupy key positions in the administration. Many Sādah are also engaged in trade.

The term *Manāṣib* is to be understood as a synonym for the group whose members claim a 'tribal ancestry', as opposed to the

30 E. Glaser.
31 W. Dostal, 1974.

Bani 'l-Khums who are considered as being without ancestry. For this reason the word *'Arab'* is frequently used instead of *Manāṣib.*

The *Manāṣib* are engaged in the following occupations—commerce, and as silversmiths, goldsmiths, coppersmiths, and blacksmiths, tinsmiths, blade-polishers, dagger-haft makers, joiners, turners, water-pipe-makers, mattress-fillers, plangi-dyers, inscription painters, stonemasons, bricklayers, porters; tombstones are made by two families (Bayt Bādiyy and Bayt Usṭā).

Men among the *Manāṣib* capable of bearing arms were compelled to do military service, if the town was attacked. In such a case an 'Āqil al-Ḥarb was elected who had to organize the defence.

To the Bani 'l-Khums group belong the shoemakers, dagger-sheath cover makers, belt makers, saddlers, tanners, brickmakers, barbers, bath attendants, cuppers or blood-letters, café proprietors, butchers, also the *qashshāmīn* (sing., *qashshām*), i.e. leek, onion and vegetable growers of the mosque gardens. In disputes within the groups of the *Manāṣib* members of the Bani 'l-Khums act as mediators. In the common law of the urban population the killing of a member of the Bani 'l-Khums by a *Manṣūb* is reckoned as a discreditable act.

The *Akhdām* are a numerically small group in Ṣan'ā' mostly employed as street cleaners. They may neither acquire houses nor purchase land. Entry into other occupations is forbidden them. In contrast to members of other classes they are not allowed to carry arms.

Apart from the typical dress of the Sādah, the dagger, the kind and the way it is worn constitute a social status symbol. There are three distinct types of dagger: *thūmah* (a), *jihāz* (b) and *sīkh* (c). The *thūmah* is regarded as the mark of rank of the Sādah, the *jihāz* or the Manāṣib and the third type, *sīkh*, for the Bani 'l-Khums.

The social estimation of the occupations, already mentioned in the introductory observations to this section proves ethnologically important insofar as it coincides with the estimation of occupations by the tribes. Here a short digression is necessary to compare the material gathered in my researches among the Banī Ḫushaysh tribe of the mountainous district north east of Ṣan'ā'.[32]

The Banī Ḫushaysh live in a community with two socially inferior groups: the Muzayyinah and Dawshāns. The legal basis of this community is constituted by the *jiwār* (protection)—relationships conferred on these groups by the tribe. This protection relationship guarantees them sojourn in the tribal territory, free practice of their occupations and safety of life and property. Of the Dawshāns there is only one family that wanders in Banī Ḫushaysh territory and keeps body and soul together acting as strolling singers, musicians and as casual workers.[33] The Muzayyinah live often in seclusion in their settlements. They engage in the following occupations: butchers, tanners, shoemakers, weavers, potters, cuppers or blood-letters and barbers. What is significant for us is that important crafts of the peasant economy such as those of joiner, smith, bricklayer and mason are limited to members of the tribe. As a rule some peasant families have for generations specialized in the crafts just mentioned, which they practise along with their farm work. These peasant-craftsmen together with the Muzayyinah create favourable conditions for internal self-sufficiency in essential goods in the peasant tribal community.

The occupations of the Manāṣib of the urban population of Ṣan'ā' correspond, as far as their social evaluation is concerned, to those found among the peasant-craftsmen, while the occupations of the Bani 'l-Khums coincide with those of the Muzayyinah. In this respect the class system stands out clearly differentiated from the already known urban society of Tarīm in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt—to quote a South Arabian example. There the hierarchic organization of the population is as follows. 1) Sādah, 2) Mashāyikh, 3) Qabā'il, 4) Masākīn ḥaḍar, 5) Masākīn ḍu'afā' and 6) 'Abīd.[34] The bulk of the Tarīm population consists of the Masākīn ḥaḍar and Masākīn ḍu'afā' classes. Among the Masākīn ḥaḍar, besides the merchants, the following occupations are found—silversmiths, joiners, turners and tailors; the occupations of the Masākīn ḍu'afā' are by contrast: smiths, weavers, tanners, butchers, shoemakers, bricklayers, stonemasons, barbers, cuppers, blood-letters and the landless farm workers. As contrasted with the scale of social values of the occupations in Ṣan'ā', the smiths, bricklayers and the stonemasons in Tarīm are deemed socially discriminating occupations. Contrary to Tarīm society influenced by rent-capitalism wide-spread in the Middle East, the class society in Ṣan'ā' corresponds with the social structure of the free peasant tribes. This coincidence discovered in social rating between tribal and urban society must clearly be taken into account in reflections on the development of urban society in Ṣan'ā'.

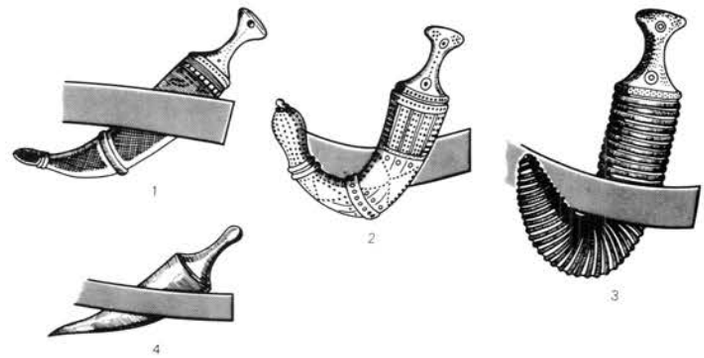


Fig. 14.1 The *jihāz* means the belt (*ḥizām*) with the *thūmah* or *'asīb*, the dagger (*janbiyyah*), plus the ornaments and instruments that go with it (cf. p. 240). (Notes from Aḥmad al-Shāmī.)
1 Thūmah, worn by turban-wearers (*mu'ammamīn*) also called *'ālam al-bayāḍ*, white world, i.e. Sādah, Quḍāh, merchants (*tujjār*). In Yarīm, Khubbān, etc., *tūzah* is said for *thūmah*. *2 'Asīb* (*'iswab*) with silver ornamented dagger and scabbard. (The *sabīkī* is longer than the *'iswab*, but shorter than a Yemeni sword, and has no crook; it is worn by Sādah, Mashāyikh and chiefs.) *3 'Asīb*. There are many varieties but this is the best known. It is worn by the *'ālam al-sawād*, the black (properly blue) world, those who wear *ṣamā'id* and *aqbā'*, impregnated with indigo, Mashāyikh, peasants/cultivators or Sādah. *4 Janbiyyah* or *thūmah*, worn by the *muzzayins*, *jazzārs* (butchers) and *muqahwis* (coffee-inn keepers).

Urban District Organization

Ṣan'ā' is organized in urban districts. An urban district can be described as a locality bound group of alliance formations (*jamā'at al-ḥārah*) consisting of leagues of families of different descent unrelated to one another. This means that with regard to identical range of interests no class differences appear. Urban district organization is founded on the principle of neighbourly understanding (*ḥukm al-jiwār*). Apart from the general interests of such local groups it can be established that mutual aid, *i'ānah*, lies in the centre of their range of interests. The members of an urban district are under an obligation to render mutual aid. This includes giving goods and money to members who have fallen on evil days (*mankūb*, pl., *-īn*) in cases of calamity, also gifts for weddings and for defraying funeral costs. This aid is not given direct but distributed through a central authority, the 'Aqil of the urban district.

The male enfranchised members (by legal rights or by military service) of an urban district elect the 'Āqil. It is quite possible—as can be seen from the roll of the urban district—for several urban districts to elect the same 'Āqil.

The following come within the competence of the 'Āqil:

1 Relations with the urban administration. He represents the interests of his district before the authority and also before other districts.
2 Mediation between disputing parties (*mutanāzi'īn*) in his district.

32 Op. cit., 3. For distribution, see—Ed. Glaser, R. B. Serjeant, 1961.
33 Cf. W. Dostal, 1972: 13 passim, R. B. Serjeant, 1949, 1950, 1957.
34 Cf. R. B. Serjeant, 1950.

3 Detecting thieves and handing them over to the police. For this purpose and particularly for security control he always has the assistance of a Shaykh al-Layl. The latter either patrols the district himself or sends a watchman (*ḥāris*). Both are paid by the Municipality.

4 Collecting contributions for the neighbourhood's aid. If need be, the 'Aqil calls at every house in his district (*tanaqqal ilā kulli 'l-buyūt*).

5 Collecting the *zakāt* tax. The following taxes are collected: *zakāt al-māl* (property tax), *zakāt al-ḥablah* (tax on grape-vines) and levy for Ramaḍān. (*zakāt al-fiṭrah* at the end of Ramadān). From the property and grape-vine tax he receives expenses amounting to 5% of the sum gathered.

The heads of the urban districts constitute a council (*majlis al-'uqqāl*) that meets only when circumstances require.

Since the urban district organization differs from that of the towns of Ḥaḍramawt, to quote a South Arabian example, it is necessary to give a sketch of the individual character of the urban district of Ṣan'ā'.

1 The size of an urban district varies and may in general be described as relatively small. Hence the tendency to merge with other districts (*majmū'ah*) if this appears advisable. Such mergers, however, need not be permanent. Mergers come into being when the members of several urban districts agree on one 'Āqil.

2 Because of the present situation the question whether the urban districts developed from isolated settlements of single tribal groups cannot be answered. Research has perhaps yielded some clues in support of this—members of a tribe tend to settle in a closed unit—yet the fact must not be overlooked that the composition of the inhabitants of a district now varies very much in accordance with their tribal origins. In connection with the problem of the founding of urban districts mosques might play a certain part, for frequently the urban districts are named after mosques situated in their area.

3 Membership of the urban district acquired by birth is not permanent; in contrast with the local laws of the Tarīm urban district organization the members of an urban district in Ṣan'ā' can move without the permission of the 'Āqil and settle in another district. To what extent an older local law is here concerned must for the present remain an open question, for in the tribal domain a member cannot leave his tribal district without authorization.

The following list of urban districts must be preceded by the observation that at present the number of urban districts is uncertain because of the rapid growth of the town. Therefore a distinction is made terminologically between the older urban districts (*ḥārāt*) and newly formed ones (*minṭaqah*). At the time of my last stay in 1975 54 *ḥārat* and 12 *manāṭiq* could be counted.

The list is based on a compilation, *'Uqqāl ḥārāt wa-aswāq wa-fanādiq wa-maṭā'im* of 1.vii.1971 in Ṣan'ā', of the authority 'Maṣlaḥat li-'l-shu'ūn al-Baladiyyah wa-'l-qarawiyyah' of Maktab Baladiyyat Liwā Ṣan'ā'. This compilation had to be supplemented by oral statements of informants as it proved on checking to be incomplete. The additions are indicated thus *.

A	*Ḥārāt*	*Name of the 'Āqil*
1	Ḥ. al-Bāshah	Aḥmad al-Hamdānī
2	Ḥ. al-Nuṣayr	
3	Ḥ. Ghurqat al-Qalīs	
4	Ḥ. al-Maydān	
5	Ḥ. al-Zumur	'Alī al-Jindārī
6	Ḥ. al-Filayḥī	Muḥammad al-Zalab
7	Ḥ. Ghuzl al-Bāsh	
8	Ḥ. Ṣarḥat Muṭayr	
9	Ḥ. Kubās	
10	Ḥ. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn	Hādī Shā'ūsh
11	Ḥ. al-Maftūn	
12	Ḥ. Yāsir	
13	Ḥ. al-Madrasah	
14	Ḥ. Qiblī al-Maydān	
15	Ḥ. al-Shahīdayn	Ḥamūd al-Maswarī
16	Ḥ. Maḥmūd	
17	Ḥ. Mūsā	Aḥmad Ṣalāḥ Shā'ūsh
18	Ḥ. al-Ḥumaydī	
19	Ḥ. Baḥr Rajraj	
20	Ḥ. al-Ḥasūsah	
21	Ḥ. al-Ṭawāshī	Ḥusayn al-Kadas
22	Ḥ. Dār al-Jāmi'	Aḥmad al-Akwā'
23	Ḥ. Dāwūd	
24	Ḥ. al-Qarābī	Aḥmad al-Hamdānī
25	Ḥ. Ibn al-Ḥusayn	
26	Ḥ. al-Kharā'ib	'Alī al-Jarādī
27	Ḥ. al-Jilā/Jalā	
28	Ḥ. Khuḍayr	'Alī al-Qāwalī
29	Ḥ. al-Kharījah	
30	Ḥ. Ṭalḥah	'Alī al-Maḥqirī
31	Ḥ. Ṭāwūs	
32	Ḥ. al-Jawāfāh	
33	Ḥ. Ma'ād	
34	Ḥ. al-'Alamī	Aḥmad al-Qaḥm
35	Ḥ. al-Ṭabarī	Muḥammad al-Qāḍī
36	Ḥ. al-Ḥurqān	
37	Ḥ. Samrah	
38	Ḥ. Mu'ammar	Muḥammad 'Alī al-Baḥrī
39	Ḥ. al-Abhar	Aḥmad Hājir
40	Ḥ. al-Jadīd	
41	Ḥ. Bārrūm (Abi 'l-Rūm)	
42	Ḥ. Bāb al-Nahrayn	'Abdullāh al-Na'āmī
43	Ḥ. Bāb al-Ṣabāḥ	
44	Ḥ. al-Sā'ilah	
45	Ḥ. al-Maṭiṭ	
46	Ḥ. Qubbat al-Mahdī	'Alī Yaḥyā al-Shahārī
47	Ḥ. Bustān al-Sulṭān	
48	Ḥ. al-Manṣūrah	
49	Ḥ. 'Aqīl*	
50	Ḥ. Jamāl al-Dīn*	
51	Ḥ. al-Wushalī*	* No names are given because
52	Ḥ. Ṣarḥat Ḥawā'ij*	of contradictory information
53	Ḥ. al-Kharrāz*	
54	Ḥ. al-Quzālī*	

B	*Manāṭiq*	*Name of the 'Āqil*
1	M. Khārij Bāb al-Ḥurriyah	Muḥammad 'Alī al-Shaybānī
2	M. Bāb al-Salām	
3	M. Shāri' al-Zubayrī	
4	M. al-Zumur	'Alī 'Umar
5	M. Bāb Sha'ūb	
6	M. Farwah	
7	M. Musayk	
8	M. al-Ṭarīq al-Mu'addī (min Sha'ūb ila 'l-Qiyādah)	The road leading from Sha'ūb to the Qiyādah (Military H.Q.)
9	M. Ṭarīq Ṣan'ā' ilā Ta'izz The Ṣan'ā'-Ta'izz Road	Aḥmad 'Alī al-Ashmalī
10	M. al-Ṣa'dī	
11	M. al-Ṣāfiyat al-Sharqiyyah	
12	M. ila 'l-Afrān	Ḥusayn al-Nihmī

Summary

The concept of the group of alliances, I believe, enables the social positions, rights and duties in which a person is involved—in the sense of an individual engaged in the market—to be shown

in its actual social frame of reference. In this commercial context there operate from the economic angle, different forms of commodity circulation as follows:

Family	Redistribution of income.
Kinship group	Reciprocal distribution of stuffs. Exchange of gifts.
Group of alliances bound to the Market	Distribution of means of production by an elected central authority.
Social class	Exchange of marriage payment for women.
Urban District	Distribution of reciprocal aid by an elected central authority.

We can clearly observe the transformation of individual distribution into one effected by a central authority in those group domains in which distribution independent of individual interests seems necessary for the common benefit of all group members.

Socio-economic Aspects of the Market Structure

The relations outlined in the preceding sections remain disconnected and unintelligible without a knowledge of the market structure. Consequently several points relevant to an assessment of the market economy will be singled out to arrive at a balanced exposition. The following pages deal with the quantitative proportions of the handicraft and commercial sectors; the technological level of the craftsmen; the organization of trade; the nature of the relations between the urban market and its rural hinterland and finally the features peculiar to the urban market.

The Quantitative Proportion of the Handicraft and Commercial Sectors

To describe the position more concretely a tabular summary is used of results based on research carried out in March 1971. Quantitatively considered they reflect a demand situation, though only in a general form.

The Commercial Sector

	Number of shops	% of the total of the group	% of the total of all business in the market*
1 *Foodstuffs and specialities*			
Cereals	31	5.88	1.843
Oils (*saman, salīṭ*)	27	5.12	31.330
Sugar and sweets	5	0.95	0.297
Sweets	4	0.76	0.238
Foodstuffs and miscellaneous	229	43.45	13.614
Qishr	11	2.09	0.654
Qishr and sundry	21	3.99	1.248
Dried Fruit	24	4.55	1.427
Dates	8	1.52	0.476
Dates and Sundry	6	1.14	0.356
Spices	12	2.26	0.713
Vegetables, Fruit	30	5.70	1.784
Qāt	95	18.03	5.648
Tobacco (local)	17	3.23	1.011
Chewing tobacco (local)	7	1.33	0.416
Total	527	100.00	31.330
2 *Clothing*			
Textiles	301	89.58	17.895
Woollens	22	6.55	1.308
Shoes (imported)	13	3.87	0.773
Total	336	100.00	19.976
3 *Household goods*			
Crockery	56	44.45	3.329
Technical equipment	30	23.81	1.784
Copperware and books	9	7.14	0.535
Pottery (local)	6	4.76	0.357
Bedclothes	1	0.79	0.059
Wood	5	3.97	0.297
Coal lignite	2	1.59	0.119
Petroleum	17	13.49	1.011
Total	126	100.00	7.491
4 *Various*			
Henna	6	22.22	0.357
Druggists	4	14.81	0.238
Second-hand goods	14	51.86	0.832
Paper	3	11.11	0.178
Total	27	100.00	1.605
Grand total	1016		60.404

Handicraft Sector

	No. of workshops	% of total of the group	% of total of businesses in the market*
1 *Metal working*			
Smiths	62	34.64	3.686
Tinsmiths	29	16.20	1.724
Coppersmiths	9	5.02	0.535
Dagger makers	47	26.26	2.794
Silversmiths	27	15.09	1.605
Goldsmiths	5	2.79	0.297
Total	179	100.00	10.641
2 *Wood working*			
Joiners	74	81.32	4.399
Locksmiths-joiners	4	4.39	0.399
Turners	9	9.89	0.535
Dagger sheath makers	2	2.20	0.119
Basket weavers	2	2.20	0.119
Total	91	100.00	5.410
3 *Textiles*			
Tailors	69	57.03	4.102
Cap makers	20	16.53	1.189
Mattress fillers	3	2.48	0.178
Plangi-dyers	2	1.65	0.119
Woollen dyers	1	0.82	0.059
Ropemakers	26	21.49	1.546
Total	121	100.00	7.193
4 *Leather workers*			
Shoemakers	44	42.72	2.616
Makers of rubber buckets	9	8.74	0.535
Saddlers	5	4.85	0.297
Dagger-sheath cover makers and belt makers	45	43.69	2.675
Total	103	100.00	6.123
5 *Various*			
Oil pressers	4	9.30	0.237
Bakers	1	2.32	0.059
Bookbinders	2	4.65	0.119
Barbers	24	55.82	1.427
Radio repair shops	10	23.26	0.595
Photographers	2	4.65	0.119
Total	43	100.00	2.556
Grand total	537		31.923

* the grand total of all workshops, businesses and service establishments = 1682 (March, 1971).

The number of businesses closed during the inquiry amounted to 74, but it was not established whether they were temporarily closed or consisted of handicraft and commercial concerns permanently closed down.

Service Businesses

	Number of shops	% of the total of the group	% of the total all businesses in the market*
Warehouses (*samsarah*)	38	29.46	2.259
Eating houses	50	38.76	2.973
Grills	7	5.42	0.416
Cafes	12	9.30	0.713
Soft drink purveyors	17	13.18	1.011
Writers	2	1.55	0.119
Money changers	3	2.33	0.178
Total	129	100.00	7.669
Grand total	1682		99.994

The first fact to be noted is that the commercial sector with 60.40% of the total of 1,682 businesses is proportionately the largest; contrasted with this the production sector amounts to only 31.93%. The proportion of service industries essential for the daily life of the market amounts to 7.67%. Thus the basic features of the market emerge. Our attention is now directed to considering to what extent typical characteristics of the demand position can be discovered. That means we must both examine the quotas within the handicraft and commercial sector and evaluate the quotas within the categories of these sectors. A breakdown of the quotas of the commercial sector indicates the following order based on a classification of 1,016 business premises—foodstuffs and stimulants (51.87%), clothing (33.07%), household goods (12.40%). The businesses entered under 'various', standing at 2.66%, are left for further consideration. In considering the foodstuffs and stimulants the percentage of *qāt*-shops is striking when compared with the understandably high proportion of provision shops (43.45%), particularly when they are compared with the extraordinary low quotas of businesses selling important foodstuffs such as oil, sugar or vegetables. This remarkably high proportion of the trade in *qāt* reflects the great demand for this stimulant and illuminates one of the most important economic difficulties of the country. The demand for *qāt* which, from a social point of view, bears those features known to us from the problem of alcoholism in Europe, leads to the result that the farmers restrict the cultivation of cereals in favour of *qāt* because it yields a higher profit coupled with a considerably smaller expenditure of labour. Resort to this mono-cultivation naturally involves increasing dependence of the tribal economy on the urban market, the consequences of which are at present not yet calculable.

14.2 Draper's shop selling imported dress materials.

14.3 Auctioneer selling a locally-made jacket.

In general the provision market is dominated by imported goods for the proportion of locally produced goods amounts to only 21.63%. The same applies to the clothing and household goods sector. With regard to the latter we must note from the viewpoint of cultural change the modest percentage of shops selling local pottery supplied by potters from Wādī Sirr and Khawlān.[35] They were ousted by metal utensils and plastic ware, as can be seen in the proportion of 44.45% of the shops stocking these new kinds of goods. We have also to look at the high proportion of shops selling industrial technical equipment (23.81%) as a consequence of the increasing change. On the other hand it is doubtful whether the quota of petrol stations should also be considered from the aspect of cultural change as I have no information about the proportion of these in earlier times.

The breakdown of the quotas for the handicraft sector reveals the following order in a total of 537 businesses—metal working (33.33%), textiles (22.53%), leather working (19.18%), wood working (16.95%), the remainder (8.01%) includes various occupations such as barbers, etc.

Of particular ethnological interest are those branches of handicraft connected with the manufacture of daggers. The proportion of these in the metal industry amounts to 26.26%, in leather working to 43.69%. These relatively high quotas are evidence of the extent to which people, even today, adhere to the tradition of wearing a dagger as a social status symbol. In the category of 'various' in the handicraft sector the proportion of radio repair shops (23.26%) is striking: it is, though, understandable when one remembers that the import of radios has been increasing by leaps and bounds since the setting up of the Republic.

35 Compare *Qānūn Ṣan'ā'*, 301, passim.

Finally, we must look again at the service industries. The proportion (61.24%) of eating houses and purveyors of soft drinks to warehouses (*samsarah*) at 29.46% underlines the importance of this service to the market.

Handicraft Technology and Organization of Production

General Observations

The continually increasing import of machine-made goods has reduced many branches of handicraft to a situation that confronts them with the threat of possible loss of existence. It is a familiar case that, with the flooding in of machine-made goods, the demand for locally manufactured products falls. The extent of the threat to the existence of some occupations becomes evident when, for example, among imported goods are found products that prove to be machine made imitations of goods of initially Yemen pattern and origin, such as sickles (*sharīm*) produced in China.[36] The fact that, under such conditions, the indigenous craft still remains competitive, needs, I daresay, no further explanation. The first to be hit by this crisis are those craftsmen who, on the one hand, cannot undertake the changeover to modern techniques because of the high costs of procurement of the necessary machinery, yet on the other hand because of lack of technical knowledge cannot withstand the competition when confronted with imported supplies. Only a few joiners have

14.4 Carpenter at work.

succeeded in adapting themselves to the new situation and to increasing production by the acquisition of machinery. Unaffected by the threat are those branches of handicraft the products of which are not in competition with industrial goods to the same extent. Among those are saddlers, plangi-dyers, craftsmen concerned with dagger production and tinsmiths. Tailors also were able to carry on to some extent until about the time of my research, although faced with large imports of ready-made clothing. The reason is to be found, I suppose, in the attitude of the indigenous population in preferring mass-produced garments to tailor-made suiting. The same applies also to the cap makers. On the other hand the ropemakers have ceased producing rope and string and now confine themselves to manufacturing muzzles (*fidāmah,* pl. *fadāyim*) and carrier nets (*shabakah*) made from imported nylon cord. The turners, who specialize in making pipe

14.5 Turner at his lathe.

stems and water-pipe tubes (*qaṣīb*), suffer from the spread of cigarette smoking. In this survey of the present state of handicrafts in Ṣan'ā' the situation of the silversmith must be briefly examined. Until 1949 the silversmith craft was largely in the hands of the Jews[37] and their work has not been adequately replaced (cf. p.397a). Of the 27 shopkeepers on the Sūq al-Fiḍḍah only six (22%) served a short apprenticeship with Jewish silversmiths; the rest limited themselves to dealing in silver jewellery; most of them are already engaged in different occupations. The standard of their technical ability is therefore very low, barely enough to carry out simpler repair work on old ornaments. In contrast to the silversmiths the few goldsmiths still make jewellery.

Technology

Technological development is reflected in the multiplicity of types of tool used in handicraft. To demonstrate more accurately the quality of handicraft equipment they are divided into four categories:[38] 1. tools made by the craftsmen themselves; 2. locally produced equipment; 3. imported tools and 4. imported equipment altered in function and form. The last category is evidence of the creative activity released in this economically poor region to meet certain technical requirements. Imported tools are particularly valuable in such a region and the economic position does not allow them to be cast aside when worn out. For example, chisels and other tools are forged from files. The analysis of the technical equipment of the craftsmen as can be seen from the list below, reveals a very varied distribution of the categories of tools:

	Smiths				
	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported tools	Total
Number	16	1	3	1	21
%	76.20	4.76	14.28	4.76	100

	Daggermakers				
	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported tools	Total
Number	1	2	7	0	10
%	10	20	70		100

36 Bernisch Historisches Museum, Ethnographical Department. Inv. Nr. Es. 75.212.157. My thanks to Herr Dr. E. Klaey, Curator, for the information regarding inventory numbers.

37 E. Macro, 87, passim; see further E. Brauer: 233 passim, especially 239.

38 For analysis of manual tools see W. Dostal, 1972, 26 passim.

Dagger-haft makers

	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported tools	Total
Number	1	5	5	0	11
%	9.10	45.45	45.45		100

Dagger-blade polishers

	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported equipment	Total
Number	0	5	10	0	15
%		33.33	66.67		100

Joiners

	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported tools	Total
Number	0	10	11	2	23
%		43.48	47.83	8.69	100

Turners

	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported tools	Total
Number	0	12	6	2	20
%		60	30	10	100

Shoemakers

	Self produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported equipment	Total
Number	0	6	2	0	8
%		75	25		100

Dagger-sheath cover makers and belt makers

	Self-produced	Locally produced	Imported	Adapted imported equipment	Total
Number	0	4	7	5	16
%		25	43.75	31.25	100

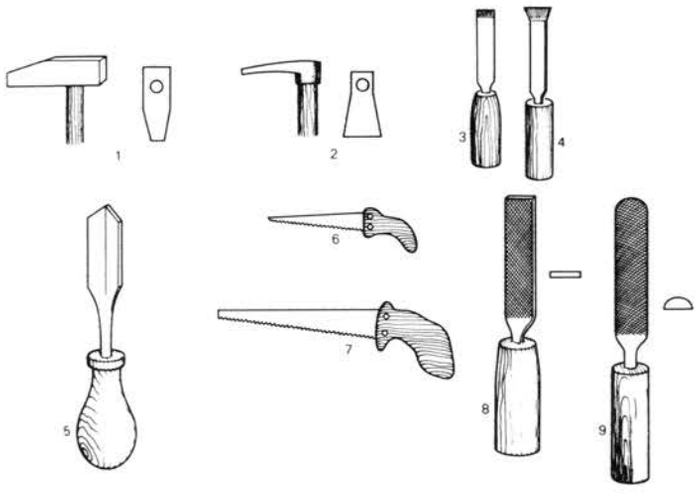
a *Tools made by the craftsmen themselves*—smiths (76.20%), daggermakers (10%), dagger-haft manufacturers (9.10%).

b *Locally produced tools*—shoemakers (75%), turners (60%), dagger-haft manufacturers (45.45%), joiners (43.48%), dagger blade polishers (33.33%), dagger sheath cover makers (25%), daggermakers (20%), smiths (4.76%).

c *Imported tools*—daggermakers (70%), dagger blade polishers (66.67%), joiners (47.75%), dagger-haft manufacturers (45.45%), dagger sheath cover makers (43.75%), turners (30%), shoemakers (35%), smiths (14.28%).

d *Adapted imported equipment*—dagger sheath cover makers (31.25%), turners (10%), joiners (8.69%), smiths (4.76%).

In this breakdown can be perceived the varying degree of dependence of the craftsmen investigated, with regard to the supply of tools. Only the smiths prove largely self-sufficient. The proportion of imported tools in a total of 124, in fact amounting to 41.13%, cannot be neglected in considering the dependence on imported equipment.



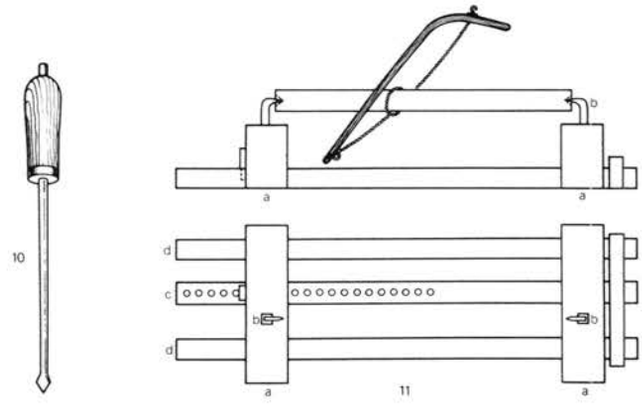


Fig. 14.2 Turners' Tools: 1 Adze, *maṭraqah*, pl. *maṭāriq*. Hammer head: l. 1.8cm, hammer face – peen: 3cm, 2cm, eye: w. 1.7cm, handle: 27cm. 2 Adze, *qaddūm*. Blade: l. 18cm; face: 6 × 3cm; cutting edge: 1.14cm, eye: w. 2cm, handle: 50cm. 3 Chisel, *minqār/manāqīr*. Blade: l. 14cm; cutting edge: 1 cm. 4 Chisel, *maqaddah/maqaddāt*. Blade: l. 9cm; cutting edge: 1.6cm. 5 Revolving knife, *hadīd*. Blade: a 1.18cm; br. 2.5cm, b 1.15cm; br. 2cm, c 1.12cm; br. 1.5cm, d 1.10cm; br. 1cm, e 1.12cm; br. 0.6cm. 6 Fretsaw, *maqṣarah*, pl. *saghīrah*; l. 20cm. 7 Foxtail saw, *maqṣarah*; l. 48cm. 8 Flat file, *mabrad*, pl. *mabārid*; l. 32cm; br. 2.5cm. 9 Rasp, *mashramah*, pl. *mashārim*; l. 30cm; br. 3cm. 10 Drill, *makhdar*, pl. *makhādir*; a wooden handle: 1.20cm; w. 3cm, drill: l. 20cm; b wooden handle: l. 28cm; w. 2.5 cm, drill: 1.26cm; c wooden handle: l. 24cm; w. 3cm, drill: 1.20cm; d wooden handle: 1.18cm; w. 3cm, drill: l. 25cm; e wooden handle: l. 29cm; w. 3.3cmn, drill: 33cm; f wooden handle: l. 25cm; w. 3cm, drill: w. 41cm. 11 Yemeni (pipe-turner') lathe, *makhrad*, pl. *makhārid* (properly *makhrat makhārit*). l. 1.03m; br. 29cm; h. 25cm; a) *rukhbah*, pl. *rukab* – wooden blocks 1.7cm; h. 8.5cm; b) *ghurāb* – centre; c) *sayyār* – slider (centre); d) *Sā'id/sawā'id* – slider (outer). The ends of the lathe are two wooden blocks (*rukbah* pl. *rukab*) about 205 mm × 125 mm × 125 mm. At the bottom are three cut-outs for three wooden bars about 50 mm × 50 mm which run between the two blocks. Two of these, the outside ones, are fixed to one block and the centre one which has peg-holes drilled vertically through it, is fixed to the other. The outer bars (*sā'id* pl. *sawā'id*) are sliders while the centre one (*sayyār*) is used to set the spacing of the two centres.

The centres (*ghurāb* (sing.)) are two right-angled brackets of metal set into the blocks at each end. On the operator's side of the centres is a bar (*tanab*) upon which the operator rests his tools as he turns the lathe. These are on the top surface of the blocks.

The lathe is turned with a *qaws* (pl. *aqwās*) which the operator holds in his right hand while guiding the chisel with his left. The larger chisel (about 20 mm wide) is called *hadīdah* or *qalam*, while the small chisel (about 7 mm wide) is the *makaddah*.

The tool used for drilling the centre of the pipe is the *makhdar*.

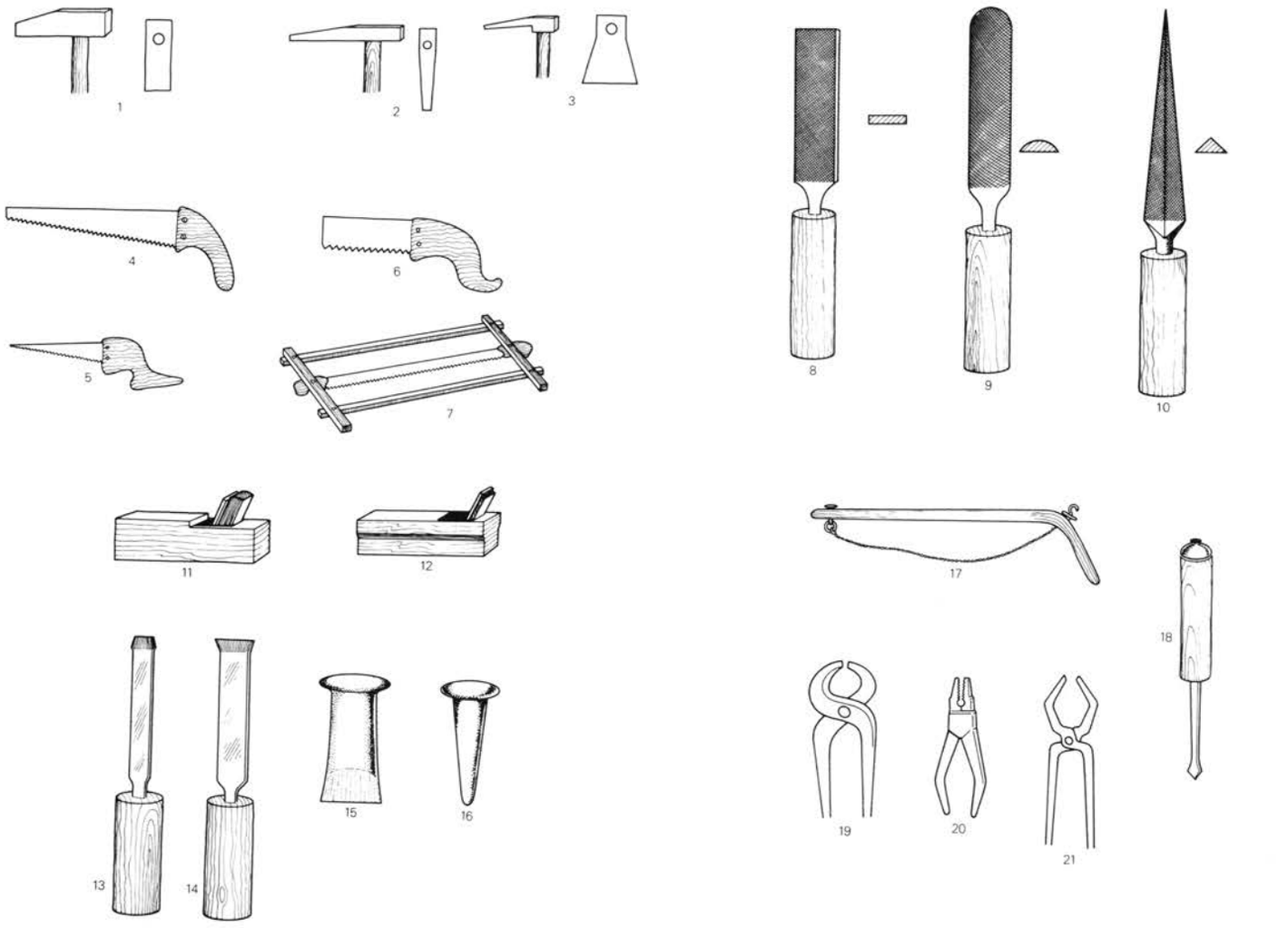


Fig. 14.3 Carpenters' Tools: 1 hammer, *maṭraqah/maṭāriq*; hammer head: 1.13cm, hammer-face – peen: 3cm, eye: w. 1.5cm, handle: 36cm. 2 hammer, *wīsak/wasāyik*, possibly also *wayāsik*; hammer head: l. 16cm, hammer face: 1.5cm; peen: 0.5cm, eye: w. 1.5cm, handle: 30cm. 3 Adze, *qaddūm*; blade: l. 16cm; face: 5 × 3.5cm; cutting edge: 13cm, eye: w. 2m, handle: 56cm. 4 Foxtail saw, *maqṣarah*, pl. *maqāṣir*; l. 54cm. 5 Fretsaw, *maqṣarah ṣaghīrah*; l. cm. 6 Broad saw, *takhrīqah*, pl. *takhrīq*; l. 31cm. 7 Frame saw, *minshār*, pl. *manāshīr*; l. 1.20m; br. 60cm. 8 Flat file; *mabrad/mabārid*, *mudahāt*; l. 21cm; br. 2.3cm. 9 rasp, *mashramah/mashārim*; l. 27cm; br. 3cm. 10 Three-sided file, *mabrad mathlūth*; l. 13cm; br. 1.5cm. 11 Plane, *mamshaq/mamāshiq*; l. 21cm; br. 5.5cm. 12 Rabbet plane, *khāṣir/khuṣūr*; l. 20cm; br. 4cm. 13 Chisel, *minqār/manāqīr*; blade: l. 15cm; cutting edge: 1cm. 14 Chisel, *maqaddah/maqaddāt*; Blade: l. 10.5cm; cutting edge: 1.5cm. 15 Chisel, *furās/furūs*; a) l. 8cm; br. 3cm; b) l. 5cm; br. 4cm. 16 Round seal or stamp. 'Round cutter'. (It is then stamped with the ornament by a stamp called *mismār li-'l-zahrah.(R.W.))Zumbah*/pl.-*āt*; 1.6cm; w. 1cm. 17 Bow/curve for drill, *Qōs/quwās*, also *aqwās*; l. of the wooden bow: 68cm; l. of the leather cord: 75cm. 18 Drill, *makhdar*, pl. *makhādir*: a) wooden handle: l. 34cm; w. 2cm, drill: l. 25cm; b) wooden handle: l. 37.5cm; w. 2cm, drill: l. 13cm; c) wooden handle: l. 31cm; w. 2.5cm, drill: l. 16cm; d) wooden handle: l. 24cm; w. 2cm, drill: l. 8.5cm. 19 Pliers, *kalbah*; l. 16cm. 20 Flat tongs, *zardiyyah*, pl. *zardiyyāt* l. 10cm. 21 Tongs, *tarbū'*, pl. *tarābī'*; l. 28cm.

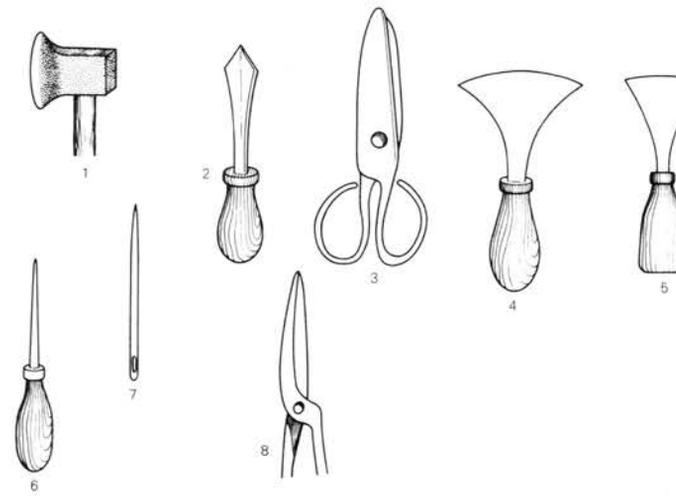


Fig. 14.4 Cobbler's Tools. 1 Hammer, *maṭraqah*, pl. *maṭāriq 'afiyyah*; hammer head: l. 9cm, hammer face: 3.5cm; peen: 5cm, eye: w. 1.8cm, handle: 22cm. 2 Knife, *mafrad*, pl. *mafārid*; blade: l. 12.5cm; br. 2cm. 3 Shears, *maqass*, pl. *maqaṣṣāt*; l. 20cm. 4 Scraper, *kazān*, pl. *kazānah*; blade: l.13cm; width of cutting edge: 15cm. 5 Scraper, *kazān*, pl. *kazānah*; blade: l.10cm; width of cutting edge: 11cm. 6 Engraving tool, *mashfā*, pl. *mashāfi*; l. 7cm. 7 Awl, *makhzaq*, pl. *makhāziq;* l. 8cm. 8 Tongs, *kalbatayn*; tongs jaws: l. 9.5cm; tongs shanks: l. 15.5cm.

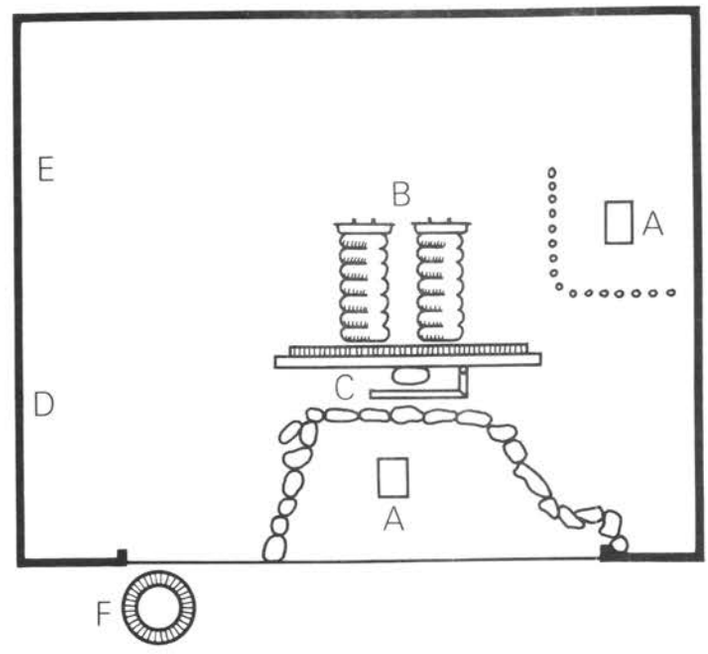


Fig. 14.5 Systematic ground plan of a smithy (forge) work-shop: A Working area, *sun'ah*: B Bellows & forge, *al-kīr*; C Forge, *kānūn*; D Coal store, *al-maymanah*; E Iron store; F Stone water container, *hawd*.

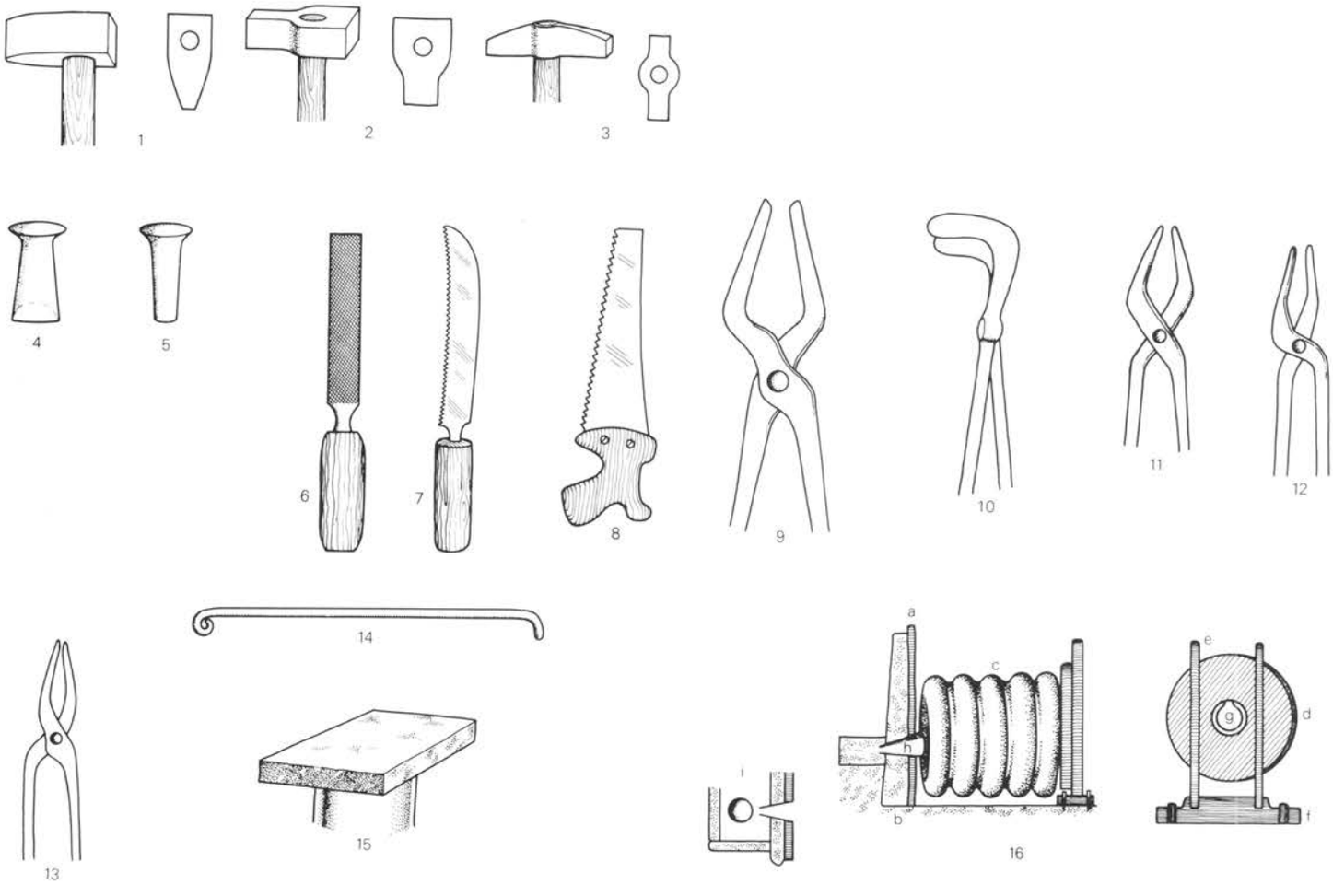


Fig. 14.6 Blacksmith Tools. 1 Sledge-hammer, *dast/disāt (dasd/dusūd)*; hammer head: l. 16cm, hammer face – peen: 4cm, 3cm, eye: w. 3cm, handle *(hirāwah*, pl. *harāwī)*: 60cm. 2 Forging hammer, *mahadd/mahadād*; hammer head: l. 14cm, hammer face – peen: 4 × 4cm, eye: w. 2.5cm, handle: 50cm. 3 Forging hammer, *matraqah*, pl. *matāriq*; hammer head: 14cm, hammer face: 3cm, peen: 1cm, eye: 1.5cm, handle: 40cm. 4 Cross-chisel for cold metal, *furās/furs/furas/furāsāt*; a) l. 8.5cm; cutting edge: 2cm, b) l. 6cm; cutting edge: 2.5cm. 5 Cross-chisel for hot metal, *sahj/sahjah/sa'j/sījān*; a) l. 12cm; w. 3.5 – 2.5cm, b) l. 10cm; w. 1.7 – 1.5cm, c) l. 8cm; w. 2.5 – 0.5cm, d) l. 7cm; w. 1.2 – 0.7cm. 6 Flat file, *mabrad/mabārid*; l. 28cm. 7 One or single-edged file, *mashramah/mashārim*; l. 22cm. 8 Back saw, *minshār/manāshīr*; length of saw-blade: 49cm. 9 Forge tongs, used for holding the forge, *tarbū'/tarābī'*; a) tongs jaws: l. 13cm; tongs arms: l. 51cm, b) tongs jaws: l. 8cm; tongs arms: l. 48cm. 10 Bent tongs, used for holding objects like axeheads through the hole, *mahnī/mahānī*; tongs jaws: l. 8cm; tongs arms: l. 38cm. 11 Blacksmith's straight tongs, *makā'abah/makā'ib*; tongs jaws: l. 2.7cm; tongs arms: l. 43cm. 12 Blacksmith's small tongs, *bāsimah/bāsimāt* or *bawāsim*; tongs jaws: l. 7cm; tongs arms: l. 38cm. 13 Forge tongs, *milqāt/malāqīt*; tongs jaws: l. 4.6cm; tongs arms: l. 56cm. 14 Poker, *kullāb*; l. 63cm. 15 Anvil, *suflah/sufāl*; h. 20cm; circumference 15 × 16cm. 16 Bellows and Forge, *kīr* (pl. *kiyār*); a) protective shield *surf/suruf*: l 1.5cm, h. 60cm, br. 15cm; b) mud wall/ *waqa'/waqa'āt*; c) *hanāyah*: w. 60cm; *hanāyah* seems to be the word for the exit-hole of air from the bellows, although, on this point no-one was very clear. Air then passes into one *kumm* (pl. *kamām al-akmām*) of the *mahraj* (pl. *mahārij*) and out of the other into a hole in the wall called *raqa'ah*, the wall being called *waqa'*. d) wooden board, *qamariyyah/qamariyyāt*; e) handle, *yadd*; f) wooden piece, *shawbakān*; g) leather tongue, *mawafah/mawāhif*; h) hole in wall, *raqa'ah*; i) forge, *kānūn*. (R.W.)

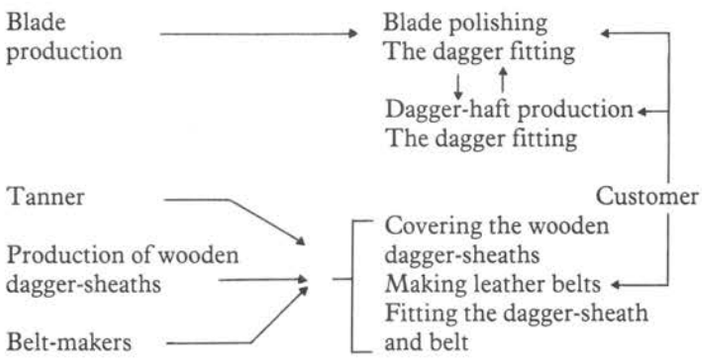
The Organization of Production

Specialization within individual crafts must now be examined. The research has revealed a high degree of specialization in the crafts of smith and joiner only. Special branches among blacksmiths are: the *sakkāk,* smiths who manufacture only window and door fittings; the *'abbāl,* whose production is limited to agricultural implements (*'iblah* is the process of re-sharpening or renewing a used agricultural instrument) and the *ḥaddād al-niṣāl,* the daggermakers. Specialization appears less pronounced among joiners, among whom we find makers of dagger-sheaths (*najjār al-iswab*), wooden locksmiths (*najjār al-maghāliq*) and joiners who make only wooden combs (*mushṭ, mushuṭ*) and bird cages (*birj*).

Among tailors specialization appears only insofar as individuals have concentrated on making fleece coats (*kark*), jackets (*kūt,* pl. *akwāt*) or shirts (*shamīs, shumās*).

An additional specialization can be observed in the adaptation to new materials among shoemakers, as some have changed over to making water buckets (*dalū*) out of rubber tyres. Let us demonstrate how production is organised by taking the example of a complex process of production—dagger-making—and of a simple process—dyeing a veil.

Schematic representation of the organization for manufacturing a dagger.



As may be gathered from the schematic representation of the process of producing a dagger, the manufacture of the blade proceeds independently of the sheath. Below we shall attempt to describe the essential stages of production.

A *Dagger-making*

1 *Dagger-maker*	*ḥaddād al-niṣāl*
Widening the blade	*yiṭba'*
Forging the point	*yiṭass*
Reducing the upper end of the blade in order to shape the tang	*yifruṣ*
Hammering the tang short	*yisawwī*
Forging the blade	*yiḍrub*
Forging the shaft	*yiṭba' al-'amūd*
Filing the edge while red hot	*yibrid*
Shaping the cold blade	*yijhaz*
2 *Blade polishers*	*ṣaqqāl, ṣaqqālīn*
The blade is fastened to a wooden support base (*ṣuruf, aṣrāf*) with a leather thong	
Smoothing the blade, into which oil (*salīṭ*) is previously rubbed with a stone (*ḥamāzī*)	*yidawwis*
Polishing	*yiṣqul*
a) with the polishing steel of the type *arkah*	*yi'arrik*
b) with the polishing steel of the type *laqṭah*	*yilqaṭ*
c) with the polishing steel of the type *sudān*	*yisawdan*
3 *Dagger haft makers*	*ṣallāb, ṣallābīn*
For material a horn imported from Kenya is used	*zurāfah*
For finer finishing the object is fastened to a specially constructed wooden support base (*tarbū'*)	
Sawing out the shape of the haft	*yiqṭa' bi-'l-minshār*
Fine working of the haft with the reamer	*yinajjir bi-'l-qaddūm*
Fine working: filing the object fastened to the *tarbū'*	*yiṣlub bi-'l-mabrid*
Ornamenting the haft:	
Burning in holes	*yuwassi' bi-'l-minqār*
Hammering in small nails	*yiṭraq al-mismār*
Filing off nail heads	*yibrid al-mismār*
With the same technique a small coin or a piece of coral (*mirjān*) can be inserted	
Soldering of the haft joint (*mabsam, mabāsim*)	*yilḥam al-mabsam*

B *Making the dagger sheaths*

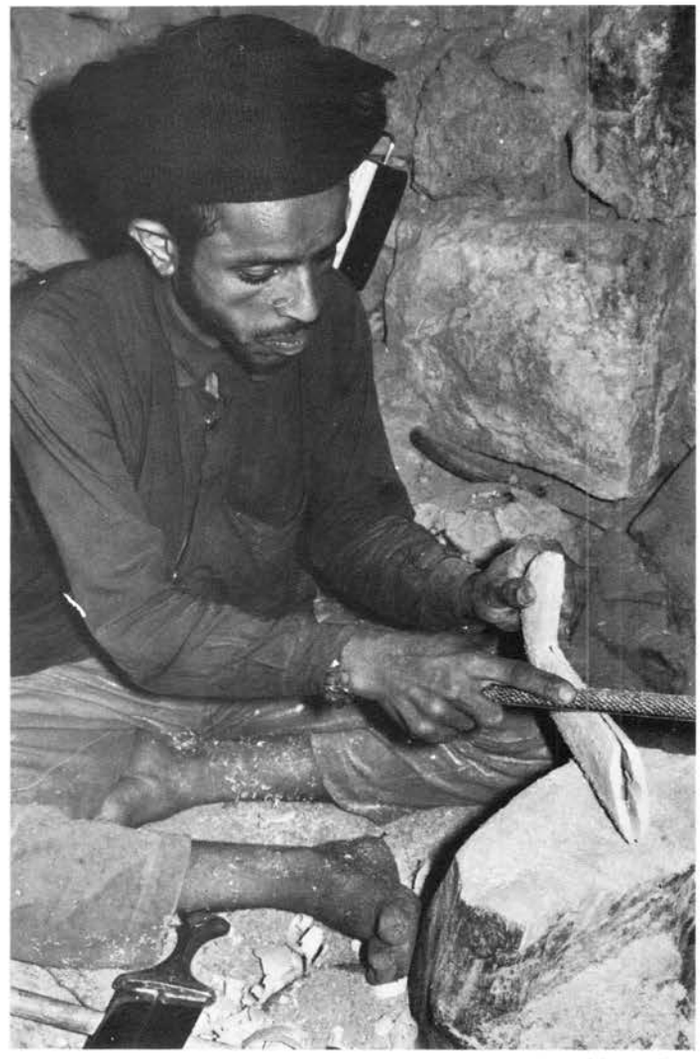
1 *Dagger sheath joiners*	*najjār al-'iswab*
A strongish board (about 5cm) is used as material and later sawn up	
Laying the pattern (*qālib, qawālib*) and marking in the shape	*yikhṭaṭ al-'asīb 'ala 'l-qālib*
Sawing out the shape	*yifrid bi-'l-maqṣarah*
Fine working with the big reamer	*yikharriṭ bi-'l-qaddūm*
Boring the holes for the wooden pegs	*yikhzuq bi-'l-makhdar*
Sawing the material in pieces	*yishuqq*
Hollowing out the inner surface with a small reamer (*ghurāb, ghurābāt*)	*yiḥfur bi-'l-ghurāb*
Fastening both parts with wooden pegs	*yismir al-'asīb*
Smoothing the outer surfaces with a file	*yibrid bi-'l-mabrid*

14.6 Forging the dagger blade.

14.7 Polishing the dagger blade.

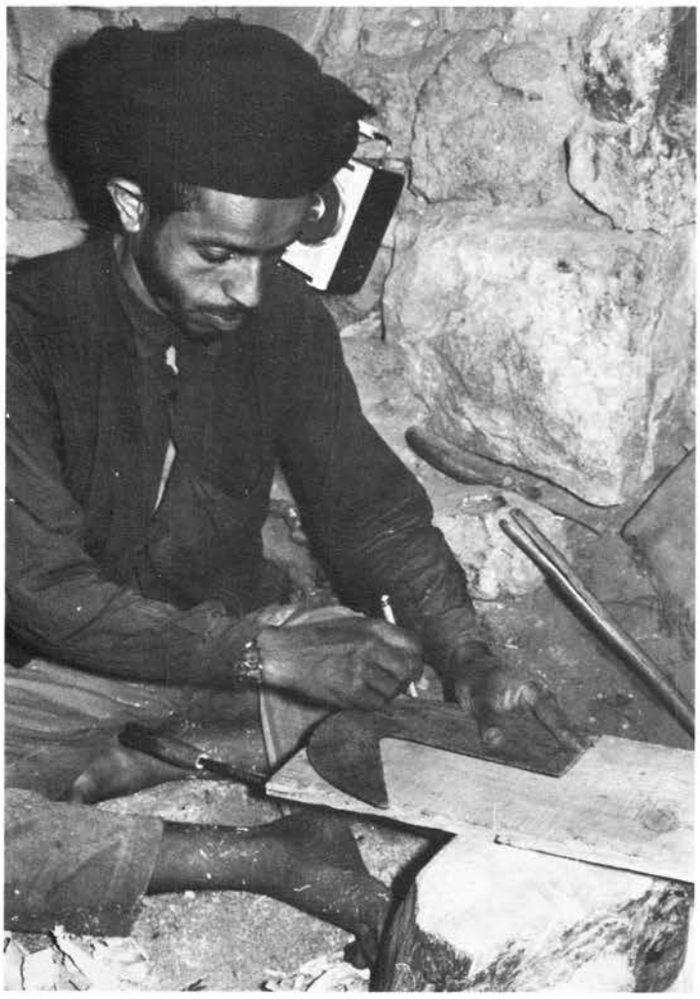
14.8 Burning a hole for a decorative nail on the dagger handle.

14.9 Working on the dagger handle.



14.10 Filing the dagger sheath sections which are held together with wooden pegs.

2 *Dagger-sheath cover makers*	*kharrāz, kharrāzīn*
For covering material calf leather is used; a mixture of flour and sugar serves as adhesive (*gharā*)	
Glueing a piece on the upper part of the sheath	*yighrī al-mabsam*
Rasping out a piece of leather fitting the size of the sheath	*yiqshar bi-'l-kazān*
Glueing the leather	*yighrī al-jild*
Drying (2 hours)	*yības*
Cutting to shape the leather strips intended for sewing (*sayr, siyūr/suyūr*)	*yiquṣṣ al-siyūr*
Perforating the glued-on leather at the edges	*yikhzuq*
Sewing with the prepared leather strips	*yiḥabbis*
Three different techniques are used for decoration:	
a Imprinting	*ya'ajjil*
a dotted pattern (linear) with a toothed wheel	
b Laying small lengths of wood on the dagger sheath, covering the sheath with leather, pressing the leather with graving tool to produce an embossed effect	*ya'ammid*
c Scoring the decorative pattern with a needle	*yikhaṭṭ bi-'l-bīz*



14.11 Marking out the shape of the dagger sheath.

14.13 Offering a dagger for sale in Sūq al-Mibsāṭah, the old Clothes Market.

14.12 Mounting the leather covered wooden dagger sheath.

3 *Belt-makers* *sarrāj* (pl. *-īn*)
The belt consist of a lining of sacking/hessian (*shuwāl*) and the covering material (*bazz*). The lining is cut out (*yismaṭ*) and sewn (*yikhayyiṭ*) to the material. A second kind of belt was also noted, in which embroidered material is sewn on.[39]

As an example of a simple process of production may be cited a craft typical of Ṣan'ā', the craft of the plangi-dyer (*ṣabbāgh,* pl., *īn*). This process—a technique in which those parts of the material not subjected to the actual dyeing are tied off so that they do not absorb dye, in order to obtain a certain pattern—is employed for making veils (*maghmūq, maghāmīq*). The dyers start with white cotton material which they dye black and red. This material is supplied direct by the manufacturer. Mineral and vegetable dyes are employed. The dyers procure the minerals themselves; the vegetable material they buy in the market. For the red dye a mixture of *shabb* (alum), *fuwwah* (madder) and *hurud* (turmeric, Indian saffron) is used; for the red dye they prepare a mixture of *'awsaj* (yellowish dye) and *kurkum* (saffron, curcuma).

The dyeing process

Tying off	*yisbuṭ*
Dyeing with red dye; circular patterns in red are created	*yiṣbagh*
Removing the binding	*yaqshir*
Tying off the places that are to stay red and white	
Dyeing with black dye	
Removing the binding	
Steeping the dyed cloth in a stone receptacle filled with water and fulling it	*yidsa'*
Beating the cloth with a wooden mallet to make it supple	*yakhbuṭ* *malbis*

39 Interesting details to be found viz. A. Klein.

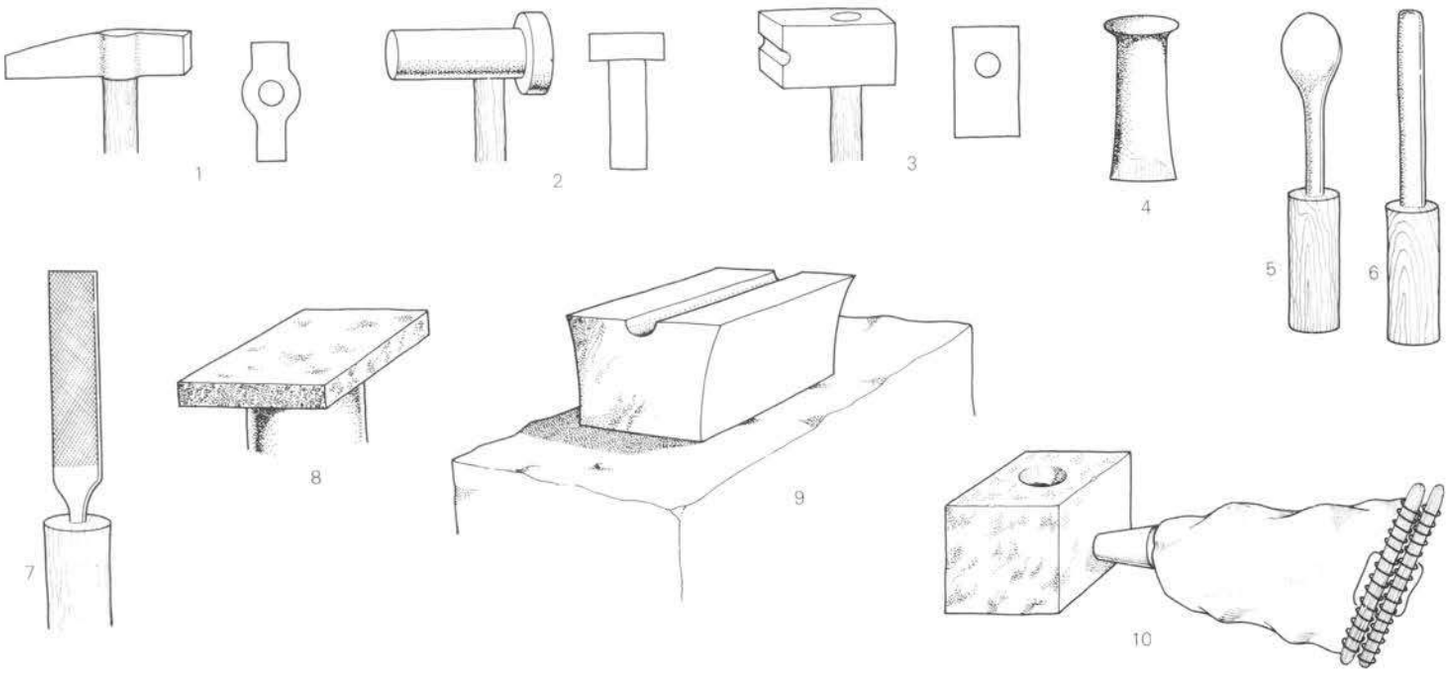


Fig. 14.7 Dagger Forge Tools. 1 Forge hammer, *matraqah/matārīq*; hammer head: l. 16cm, hammer face: 2cm; peen: 1cm, eye: w. 1.5cm, handle: 20cm. 2 Round hammer, *masbat/masābit*; hammer head: l. 13cm; w. 4cm, hammer face: 4 × 4cm, eye: w. 1.5cm, handle: 34cm. 3 Swaging hammer, *matba'ah/matābi'*; hammer head: l. 4cm, hammer face: 5 × 3cm; peen: 4× 4cm, depth of swaging die: 0.9cm, eye: w. 1.5cm, handle: 16cm. 4 Cross-chisel for hot metal, *furās/furs*, etc; l. 11cm; length of cutting edge: 2cm. 5 Polishing iron, *maqshāt/maqāshāt*; l. 7cm; length of cutting edge: 2cm, handle: 15cm, w. 2cm. 6 Polishing iron, *maqshāt/maqāshāt*; l. 8cm; length of cutting edge: 1cm, handle: 12cm, w. 2.5cm. 7 Flat file, *mabrad/mabārid*; l. 27cm. 8 Anvil, *Suflah/sufāl*; h. 30cm; circumference: 16 × 16cm. 9 Swage anvil, *matba'ah*; h. 11cm; circumference: 7.5 × 8cm. 10 Leather forge bellows, *minfākh/manāfikh*; l. 40cm.

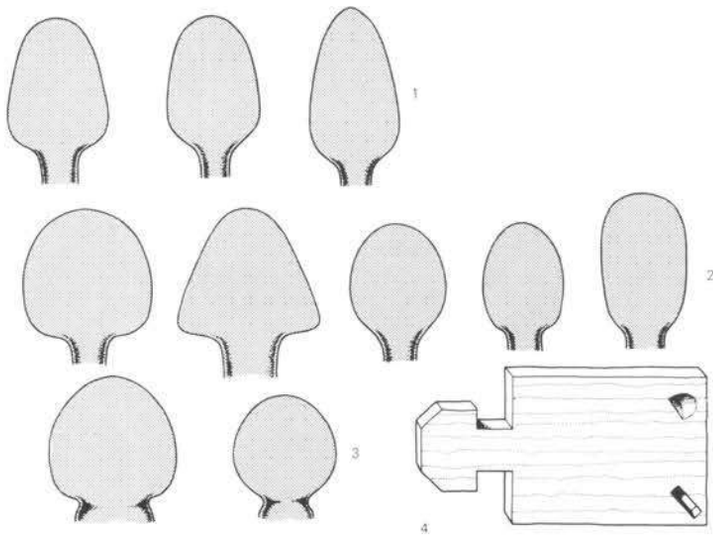


Fig. 14.8 Tools of Dagger Blade Polishers. Polishing stone, *'adhāqī/'adhāqiyyāt*. Polishing iron, *masqalah/masāqil*. 1 *sūdān* a) l. 5cm; br. 3.8cm, b) l. 5cm; br. 3.3 – 1.5cm, c) l. 6cm; br. 3 – 1cm; 2 *'arkah* a) l. 4.5cm; br. 4cm. b) l. 4.5cm; br. 4,5 – 1cm, c) l. 3.5cm; br. 3 – 1.3cm, d) l. 4cm; br. 2.5 – 1cm, e) l. 5cm; br. 2.5 – 1.5cm; 3 *laqtah* a)l. 4cm; br. 4 – 1.5cm, b) l. 3cm; br. 3.5 – 1.5cm; 4 wooden work-block, *surf/asrāf*; l. 34cm; br. 18.5cm.

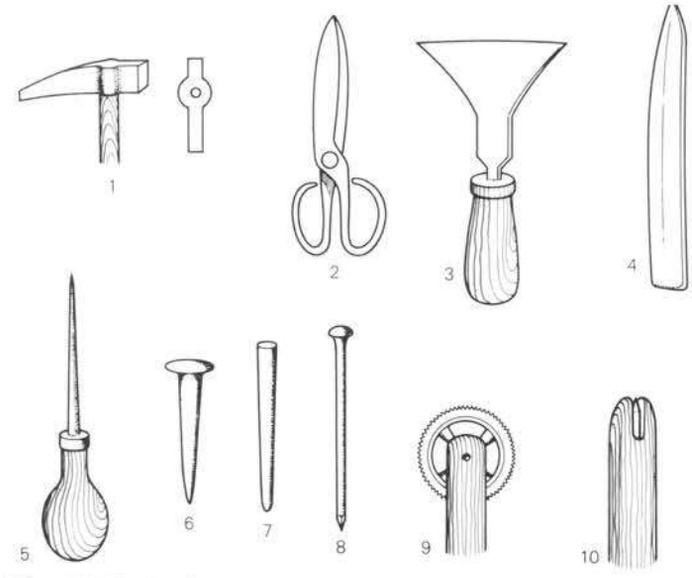


Fig. 14.9 Tools of the Dagger Sheath Coverers: 1 Hammer, *matraqah*, pl. *matārīq*; hammer head: l. 11cm, hammer face: 3cm; peen: 1cm, eye: l. 1.5cm, handle: 20cm. 2 Shears, *maqass/maqassāt*; l. 19cm. 3 Scraper, *kazān*, pl. *kazānah*; Blade: l. 4.5cm; width of cutting edge: 6cm. 4 Knife, *hadīdah/hadīd*; l. 15cm; br. 3cm. 5 Engraving tool, *bīz*, pl. *abyāz*; a) l. 8cm, b) l. 6cm, c) l. 5cm, d) l. 3cm. 6 Die, stamp, *mabsham*, pl. *mabāshim*; l. 5cm. 7 Round cutter to make a metal blank, *zumbah*, pl. *-āt*; a) l. 7cm, b) l. 18cm. 8 Die, stamp, *mismār li-'l-zahrah*; l. 5-8cm. 9 Small cog wheel, *'ajalah/'ajal li-'l-naqsh*, a) single: w. 5cm, b) double: w. 4.5cm. 10 Carving tool, *mahatt/mahattāt*; l. 15cm; br. 4cm. Brush, *burūsh*, l. 20cm; br. 5cm. Working basis/foundation, a) *zambah*, of lead: w. 15cm, b) *balaq*, of stone: l. 24cm; br. 20cm.

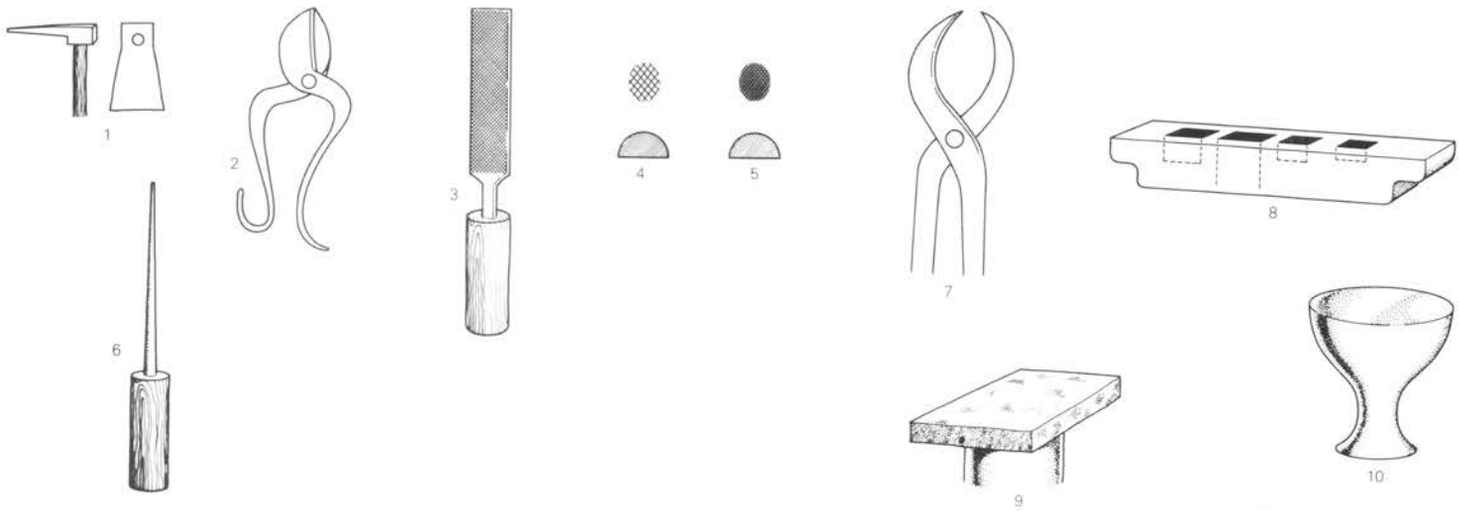


Fig. 14.10 Dagger Handle Manufacturing Tools Hammer, *matraqah/matāriq*; hammer head: l. 12cm, hammer face: 4cm; peen: 2cm, eye: 2cm, handle: 24cm. 1 Adze, *qaddūm*; l. 15.5cm; br. 4cm, eye: w. 2cm; handle: 40cm. 2 Metal shears/scissors, *jāz/jnzān*; cutting edge: l. 2.2cm; l. 2.6cm, shank: l. 15.5cm. 3 Flat file, *khashabī/khashabiyyāt*; l. 33cm; br. 2cm. 4 Semi-circular file, *mazhar or mazahhar hadīdī*; l. 30cm; br. 2cm. 5 Semi-circular file, *dāshī* or *dāshiyyāt hadīdī*; l. 30cm; br. 2cm. 6 Branding pin (also an instrument used in building (*Dīwān al-mubayyatāt*, 161)), *minqār/manāqir;* l. 10cm. 7 Tongs, *kalbatayn;* jaws: l. 5cm; shanks: l. 48cm. 8 Wooden working base, *tarbū'/tarābī'*; l. 81cm; br. 6cm; h. 5cm. 9 Anvil, *suflah/sufal*; h. 20cm; circumference: 19 × 17cm. 10 Copper clasp knife handle, *miqād/mawāqid*; h. 30cm; w. 20cm.

14.14 Plangi-dyer undoing a dyed thread. In the background, to the left, is a traditional black face veil with white and red roundels.

The Organization of Trade

Of the total of 1682 businesses in the market area 1016 are engaged in trade, corresponding to a proportion of 60.40%. Of these 741 shops in all (72.93%) stock imported goods. The adverse trade balance between the years 1969-1973 shows an ever-growing deficit as between imports and exports.[40] The increasing trend of imports led to a change of the traditional trade, insofar as only certain newly established trading companies monopolized the imports. As many of these trading companies are located in Hodeidah, the country's main harbour, the import trade in Ṣan'ā' is dependent on these external companies and their relations to the local government of the Hodeidah district.

	1969/70	1970/71	1971/72	1972/73
Imports	166.6	174.6	204.4	411.1
Exports	19.6	13.5	24.7	25.3
Deficit	143.3	161.1	169.7	385.8
Increase of trade deficit	100.	109.4	122.	262.

Figures in millions of *riyāls*

The Ṣan'ā' Chamber of Commerce (Ghurfat al-Tijārah) has provided data distinguishing seven categories based on financial criteria, namely the annual contribution (*ishtirāk*) a merchant has to pay to the Chamber of Commerce. The division is based on the distinction between the merchant (*tājir*) and the retailer (*kassār*). As a rendering into European terms appears impossible because of the heterogenous trade structure, the Arabic designations only are given below:

Category	Contribution in *riyāls*
tājir kabīr	1,000
tājir mutawassiṭ	500
tājir taḥt al-mutawassiṭ	250

40 Yemen Arab Republic, *The Three Years Programme*, 91.

tājir ṣaghīr	150
kassār kabīr	50
kassār mutawassiṭ	30
kassār ṣaghīr	20

The above includes only merchants who pay this contribution, but there are also the following categories of merchant who play an important part in the life of the market:

wakīl/wukalā'	wholesale commission agent
dallāl/dallālīn	retail commission agent
muḥarrij/muḥarrijīn	auctioneer of retail goods
mufarrish/mufarrishīn	peripatetic trader

The last mentioned category of *mufarrishīn,* also includes the peasants in the market because they offer their goods for sale spread out on the ground. Sometimes the *mufarrish* is also called *bāsiṭ* (pl., *-īn*).

The fact that a distinction between two groups of traders exists—the merchants linked to the Chamber of Commerce and those not linked in this way-needs explanation. This classification becomes intelligible if we see it in connection with two different market systems. The first group is to be coordinated with the urban market system; it could have developed from the specific needs of urban society. This interpretation is supported by the fact that the costs of the watch organization, with which we shall deal later, are borne by this group. These merchants contrast with the unorganized traders whose function corresponds to that of the middlemen (*muṣliḥ, muṣāliḥ*) operating in the rural weekly markets. This group of traders forms an important pattern of urban trade insofar as it follows the traditional rules, which, in fact, are broken today. If the traditional customs are observed, delivery of goods is effected through such middlemen as have naturally specialized in dealing in certain goods. From this trade custom it follows that we have to reckon with a market system similar to that of the rural weekly market. In the present commercial sector of the commercial market it will be conceded that two market systems exist—the system of trade that is carried on by the merchants organized in the Chamber of Commerce and the market system corresponding to that of the rural weekly markets. It is to be assumed that the latter system is probably the older.

It is suggested therefore that the urban market developed as follows. From a market system similar to that of the rural weekly market a market system developed with organized trade that could best satisfy an urban society's demand for consumer goods. The merchants organized in sectional markets from a group of associates. This becomes remarkably clear in the Chamber of Commerce—the common interest of which, alongside the regulation of the supply of goods, lies in the safety of these goods stored in the shops. If on the other hand the correctness of the assumption be conceded that the group of unorganized traders belongs to the older system, then it can be explained why the traders in this group, even today, perform such important functions in the commercial sector. To indicate the nature of this latter group something must first be said about certain aspects of the rural weekly market.[41]

The fact that the chief products of the peasant economy are handled through intermediaries gains an importance. The Shaykh al-Sūq, responsible for order and security in the market, nominates four men as *muṣāliḥ,* the intermediaries. These men are confirmed in their functions as *muṣāliḥ* by vote of the tribal members of the district in which the market lies. They are mostly tribal members with commercial experience well informed about the actual state of supply and demand and therefore able to influence and regulate prices. One can distinguish between two kinds of intermediary—the *muṣāliḥ* and *kayyāl*. The men acting as *muṣāliḥ* are free tribal members, for the *kayyāl* a member of the socially inferior *muzayyinah* is preferred. The competence of the three *muṣāliḥ* is exactly defined—the sale of cattle, sheep-and-goats and wood. The *kayyāl* mediates exclusively in the sale of grain. All other products such as vegetables, grapes, cattle fodder etc., are offered for sale direct by the peasant. This function of intermediaries in maintaining order is doubtless rooted in the tendency of the tribal community to avoid, from the outset, disputes having an economic basis. This means that the institution of intermediaries can be explained by the attitude of tribal law.

Let this short digression conclude discussion of the evidence for a supposedly older system in the urban market as, for the time being, we can produce no further facts to confirm or refute this assumption. In the presentation of the class system I have referred to the correspondence of the urban class order in Ṣan'ā' with that of the tribes. If the assumption be accepted as feasible then the continuing influence of the weekly rural market on the urban market is yet another indication of the correspondence between the two class orders—urban and tribal.

The Organization of the Merchant Class

In the Council of the Chamber of Commerce (Ghurfat al-Tijārah) the merchant class is clearly demarcated from the other occupational groups operating in the market. The Chamber of Commerce, whose articles came into force in the year 1963,[42] is the organization which succeeded the Assembly of Merchants (Majlis al-Tijārah) that functioned in pre-Republican times. It is based on the traditional *Aswāq* organization insofar as the members of the Chamber are elected from among the Shaykhs of the market sector. Every two years the merchants meet to elect representatives to the Chamber. These then nominate from among themselves the President of the Chamber. This office is usually held by members of respected families such as Bayt Ṣalāḥ or Bayt Daḥmān; today the Chamber is presided over by Ḥusayn 'Alī al-Watārī whose family enjoys great respect.

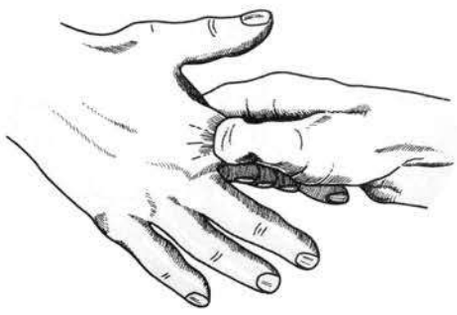
Besides the representation of the interests of the merchants the following functions are part of the work of the Chamber.

1 Supervision of balance of prices (*muta'ādil al-as'ār*) of foreign goods by an official paid by the Chamber.
2 Collecting the *zakāt* tax by the Amīn al-Ṣundūq. The tax receipts are remitted to the Government. One tenth of the total amount is retained for payment of the staff. The amount of the tax receipts is estimated at approximately 1,700,000 *riyāls.*
3 Election and payment of the Shaykh al-Layl, who bears the responsibility for the policing of the commercial sector at night.

In consequence of the specialization of many traders in certain goods the merchant class proves sharply differentiated. From this factor there developed communication systems[43] by which, for example, price agreements between two merchants are not divulged to a third party: it concerns the custom of communication by gesture and of a secret language specific to a group. Communication by gesture is called *al-ḥakī bi-'l-yad.* With their hands under a piece of cloth both partners come to an understanding about the price by means of finger movements. Each finger or part of a finger stands for a certain number, as can be seen from the illustrations. Simultaneously, rejection or agreement are signalled by the eyes.

Concerning the secret language, *al-lughah al-iṣṭilāḥiyyah*, I was unable, for understandable reasons, to obtain any information.

41 W. Dostal, 1974: 12 passim.
42 Yemen Arab Republic, *Tashrī'āt,* 651, passim.
43 Perhaps this will be of the types described by R. B. Serjeant, 'Cant in contemporary south Arabic dialect', *Trans. Philol. Soc.,* London, 1948, 299-314.



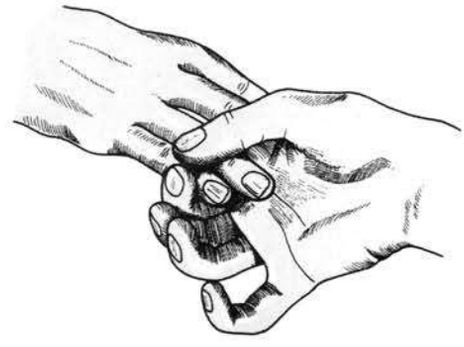
1 One *riyāl*, or, one hundred *riyāls*, or, one thousand *riyāls*, etc.

2 Two *riyāls*, or, two hundred *riyāls*, or, two thousand *riyāls*, etc.

3 Three *riyāls*, etc,. as previous.

5 Five *riyāls*, etc.

4 Four *riyāls*, etc.



7 Seven *riyāls*, etc. Grasping the little finger and third finger indicates plus two over five.

6 Six *riyāls*, etc. Grasping the little finger indicates one over five.

8 Eight *riyāls*, etc. Grasping the three end fingers indicates plus three over five.

9 Nine *riyāls*, etc. Grasping all four fingers, but not the thumb, indicates plus four over five.

10 Ten *riyāla*, etc. Placing the palm of the hand on the palm indicates ten.

Fig. 14.11 *Al-Ḥakī bi-'l-yad*
the *muslih*, dealer, middleman puts his hand under the sleeve (*kumm*), or a piece of cloth, with that of the purchaser or vendor, and the two communicate by touch without the bystanders being aware of the progress of the transaction.

The Policing System

As can be perceived by an observer, the policing system is exercised by means of watch posts (*maḥras, maḥāris*). On the map the policed area is clearly demarcated from the unprotected parts of the market, in which the workshops of the joiners, shoemakers and smiths are situated. These watch posts are built on the roofs of businesses and afford enough space for one man. They lie close enough together for the watchmen to communicate with one another.

This policing system is legally established in the veto prohibiting all shopkeepers from entering the market area after evening prayer and during the night. This regulation is already exemplified in pre-Islamic times in the market regulations of Timna'.[44] From the organizational point of view this system is based on the institution of Shaykh al-Layl and the watchman. The Shaykh al-Layl is elected and paid by the Chamber of Commerce. For this office the candidate must possess the following qualifications: he must count as trustworthy (*mawda'*) in the judgement of the merchants since goods are entrusted to his care; he must also be in a position to stand security (*ḍamānah*) for these goods. This latter requirement follows from the obligation of the Shaykh al-Layl to make good any loss caused by theft during the night. For this reason the financial resources of each candidate for this office are checked to ascertain to what extent he can assume such liabilities. In fact the Shaykh al-Layl cannot be sued for the full amount if the loss is excessively high. In such a case the Council of the Chamber of Commerce functioning as mediator decides that the Shaykh al-Layl has to pay in compensation only a sum equal to the daily turnover of the trader who has suffered the loss. As a rule candidates for this office, which is associated with high social prestige, come from such families as enjoy great respect in Ṣan'ā' society, as, for example: Bayt Qubbān, Bayt Qaṭṭā', Bayt al-Sallāl, Bayt al-Daḥmān, Bayt al-Dabāb and Bayt al-Ḥabarī. At present Yaḥyā Qubbān occupies this office. The Shaykh al-Layl receives a monthly remuneration of 500 *riyāls* paid by the Chamber of Commerce. This income is augmented by fees the merchants have to pay on goods imported into the market. These duties (*marjū'ah*) amount to 4 *riyāls* for a big truck load, 2 *riyāls* for a small truck load, 2 *buqshahs* for a sack of *qishr*.

The watchmen (*ḥāris, ḥarasah*), today about 120 strong, are recruited exclusively from among the porters (*ḥāmil, ḥamalah*). They receive no remuneration for their watch duties. This is included in payment for transport of goods (*ḥamūlah*). It is a question of an extension of the responsibility of the porters, who are likewise responsible for the safety of goods in transit—to the warehouse and from the warehouse to the business premises. For this reason only the porters are permitted to enter the warehouses (*samsarah*) during loading and unloading of goods: only on this condition can they assume the burden of responsibility.

This responsibility confers high social prestige on the porters, surpassed only by that of the watchmen. The porters are, without exception, free tribal members, and only such men are accepted as can provide security (*kāfil*). Members of the Bani 'l-Khums and the Muzayyinah are not admitted to this occupation. When a porter decides to enter the watch service, he usually gives the Shaykh al-Layl a small present (eggs, ghee). The watchmen are granted ten holidays (*ghiyāb*) on Islamic festivals. The Shaykh al-Layl must himself find substitutes for this period, whom he pays himself. For this he receives contributions from the merchants (*musā'adah li-shaykh al-layl min shān al-ḥirāsah*).

The watchmen choose an 'Āqil al-Ḥirāsah from among themselves. He acts as the representative of the Shaykh al-Layl and allots the watchmen's duty periods. Within the market area the watchmen now have at their disposal a room, situated in the Grain Market (Sūq al-Ḥabb), in which they can stay and make tea. While on patrol they are only armed with sticks. A captured thief is handed over to the police the next morning.

14.15 Sūq al-Ḥalaqah. In the centre, left of the hardware shop, is a covered well; top left is a cabin in brick for the night watchman.

14.16 Samsarat al-Mīzān. See pp. 186b, 284b seq.

The Economic Relations of the Urban Market to its Rural Hinterland

We are concerned in the first place, with the mechanism of the disposal of agricultural products on the urban market. For better understanding one must start with some observations on agricultural production in the hinterland of Ṣan'ā'. Valuable information on this point is provided by figures of the yield from the cultivation and the planting of the most important products as given to me by thirty-six authorities: according to them a field of half a hectare of *qāt* produces an annual yield of 9,000 to 13,000 *riyāls*, a vineyard of the same size about 3,600 *riyāls*, a half-hectare field of *dhurah* between 1,200 and 2,500 *riyāls*, of barley about 960 *riyāls*.

Caution must always be exercised with regard to statistics but it emerges that *qāt* and grapes (raisins) are the most important agricultural products. Among other products and crops impor-

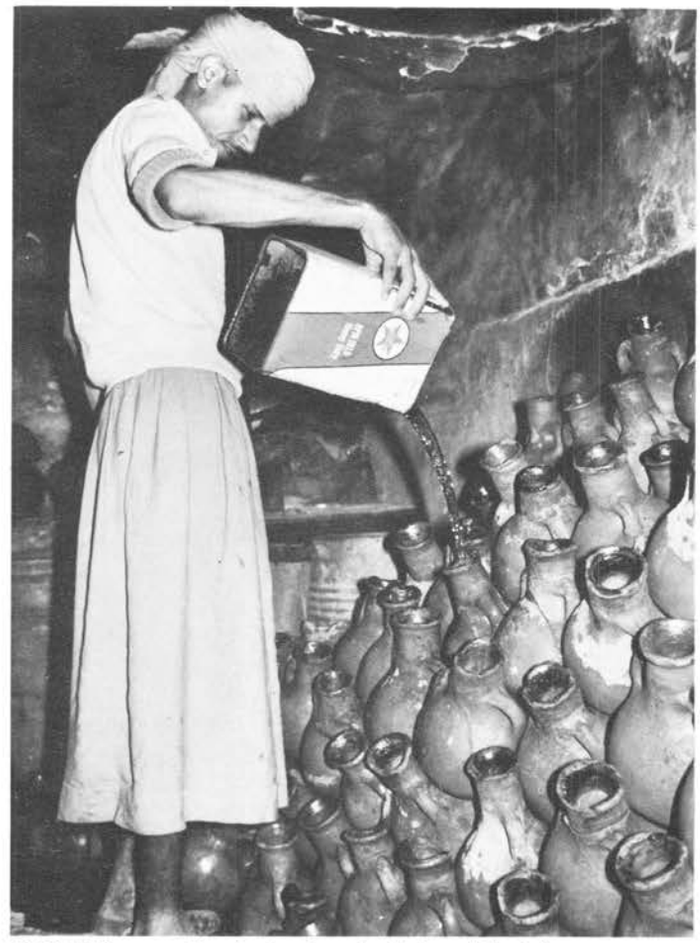
44 M. Höfner, 58, passim. See p. 164b, seq., of this study.

14.17 Press for the extraction of sesame oil.

tant as foodstuffs must be mentioned vegetables, various kinds of fruit, ghee and sesame for extracting oil, as also sheep-and-goats. The disposal of products follows the customs already mentioned as characteristic in the description of the rural weekly markets. The chief products, *qāt* and grapes (raisins) are handled through middlemen; all other products are offered directly on the market by the peasants (*yitasawwaq*), this means that the products are converted into money (*yitṣarraf*). Let us now consider the regulations on the sale of *qāt*. In Ṣan'ā' they consider three kinds of *qāt*, to be of the most excellent quality—Qaryah, Wādī and Ḍulā'ī.[45] The description follows the origin, for example: Ḥarāzī, Ḥaymī, Sawdī, Ḥaddī, Khawlānī, Rijāmī, Sirrī etc. *Qāt* is offered for sale in three ways: (a) big bundles (*marbaṭ, marābiṭ*) (b) small bundles (*ribṭah, ribāṭ, ḥabbah, ḥabbāt,* the latter seemingly more of Ta'izz than a Ṣan'ānī term); (c) lots of 10 *ḥabbāt* wrapped in banana leaves, the bundle being known as *qarn,* pl., *qurūn.*

The traders specializing in the sale of *qāt* (*muqawwit*) are organized as wholesale commission agents (*wakīl, wukalā'*) and as retail traders (*mufāwid*, pl., *mufawidīn*). The sale is organized as follows: the peasant delivers the goods to the *wakīl.* The *wakīl* receives a 10% share (*'amūlāh*) of the proceeds of the sale. That means that the peasant receives a return on the *qāt* supplied by him only after the sale by the *wakīl.* This practice demands a relationship of mutual trust, which usually leads to the result that the peasants mostly enter into business relations with a *wakīl* well known to them. The *wakīl* sells the goods to the retailers, but can also offer it direct to the buyers. The retailer's margin amounts to 10%. The price fixed is by bargaining (*mughālāh*).

Today a partial change in the sale process is already becoming noticeable, as the peasants are changing over to offering their goods direct on the market. Thereby they save 10% commission to the *wakīl,* though instead they must put up with a considerable loss of time in the sale of the article. As already recorded grapes and raisins are the next most important agricultural products. In the north east hinterland of Ṣan'ā', in the district of the Banī Ḥushaysh, 14 different kinds of grapes are grown. The following list gives an idea of the quantitative distribution of the individual kinds of grapes: it is based on the evidence of 6 random tests in a total of 1281 grape-vines.



14.18 Filling water jugs for the *qāt* market in Bayt al-Sharbah.

Type of grape	Number of grape-vines	% of Total
Rāziqī	780	60.89
'Āṣimī	177	13.82
Aswad	128	9.99
Bayāḍ	84	6.56
'Irqī	63	4.92
Ḥātimī	17	1.33
Jawfī	10	0.78
'Adhārī	9	0.70
Zaytūn	8	0.62
'Aṭrāf	5	0.39
Total	1281	100.00

Rāziqī grapes are preeminently suitable for raisins as are *Aswad* and *Bayāḍ* grapes, whereas the *'Āṣimī* grapes are taken fresh to the market. From the table of the numerical distribution of the types of grape it emerges that viticulture is predominantly concentrated on the production of raisins.

The process of converting into raisins is very simple. The peasant constructs rectangular wooden platforms (*'awshah, 'awashāt*) in open spaces in the vineyards or near the houses. The grapes are either hung under the lattice work of this platform or strewn on it. In the latter case they must be covered with bushes to protect them from too intense a sun. After 50 or 60 days the grapes are dry. As a rule the peasants sell two-thirds of the raisins: the rest they keep to cover their own needs.

45 I. Tāhir, S. M. Yacoub & A. Akil, 26, passim.

The sale follows the procedure of the middleman. The latter sells the grapes or raisins with an addition of 10 *buqshahs* per *raṭl.* In contrast to the sale of *qāt,* in this case the peasant receives an agreed sum on delivery of goods to the middleman. Today it can be observed, exactly as in the case of the sale of *qāt,* that many peasants bring fresh grapes to the market themselves, a sign that they are beginning to transform the traditional sales procedures.

Until now only two examples have been given, describing the economic relations between town and country from the viewpoint of agricultural production, but these by no means exhaust all aspects of this relationship.

Hand made products play a fairly important part in the economy as well. For instance wicker-work for bread cushions (*makhbazah*) is to be mentioned, which the peasants' wives weave as a cottage industry.

The woven parts are delivered to the saddlers, who take over the finishing. In the urban market we find various other wicker-work produced as home industry besides the *makhbazah.* However, the proportion of products manufactured by home industry is very small. The economic significance is so slight that the proceeds can be described as casual earnings. Two sectors of peasant production prove of greater economic importance in relation to the urban market—pottery and agate polishing. To avoid any vagueness that might result from the concept of 'peasant production', it must be indicated that these two industries have a clear social ranking. Agate polishing is in the hands of free tribal members, whereas pottery making is carried on by the socially inferior muzayyinah. It is of some interest to outline the techniques of both these products as, to the best of my knowledge, no descriptions of them are yet available.

I will demonstrate the pottery techniques by the example of the local industry of al-Ṣurāb, lying in Wādī Sirr, and almost exclusively inhabited by potters. From al-Ṣurāb comes most pottery on sale in the market of Ṣan'ā'. It goes under the name of 'Sirrī'. An essential characteristic of the pottery technique in al-Ṣurāb is the manufacturing process without the use of the potter's wheel. Here the process known as the paddle-anvil technique is employed, based on the following principle—the clay is flattened out, laid on a base and shaped on it with a mallet (*maṣfaḥaḥ,* pl., *maṣāfiḥ*).[46] This base (*manṭa'ah, manṭa'āt*) has the shape of a hemisphere and is made of clay.[47] It is a simple matrix process by which a considerable volume of production can be attained in a relatively short time. The daily production of an economic unit comprises 30 pots or 15 coffee pots. Following the division of labour between the sexes, the women prepare the clay and do the shaping, the men take on the decorating, burning and sale of the pottery.

On the production process:

A *Preparing the clay*	
Cleaning the clay by mixing with water	*yiṯhiru al-trāb*
Drying the clay (24 hours)	*yabas al-trāb*
Breaking up the clay with a stick (*malbis, malābis*)	*yalbis al-ṭīn*
Sifting by means of two sieves of different sizes (*minkhul, manākhil*)	*yinkhul*
Thinning the clay by adding chopped straw or donkey dung	*yukhallib*
B *Shaping the clay*	
Flattening the lump of clay	*yinṭa'*
Laying the clay on the base, shaping the side of the vessel, first with the hands, then with a mallet	*yiṣfaḥ*
Letting the shaped object dry	*yiḍaḥḥī fi-'l-shams*
Shaping the edge	*yiṣfaḥ*

14.19 Basketwork bread mould, made by country women, being filled with chaff in Ṣan'ā'.

14.20 Pottery manufacture in Ṣurāb, Wādī Sirr. The woman spreads the clay into a flat cake which is later put over a hemispherical work top (paddle and anvil technique).

Levelling the edge with a metal ring (*mikhaṭṭ, mikhaṭṭāṭ*)	*yiqṭa' bi-'l-mikhaṭṭ*
Shaping a belly (*ṭufi, ṭufai*)	*yuṭfi*
Laying the belly on the edge of the vessel and smoothing it	*yūfi*
Polishing the inner and outer surfaces of the vessel with a damp cloth	*yūfi bi-'l-khirqah*
Drying (3 to 4 days)	*yabas*
C *Decorating*	
Breaking the red mineral dye in a small stone receptacle (*mawḥiz*) with a pestle (*yad*)	*yiṭruq al-ḥamīrah*
Painting red	*yiḥammir*
D *Firing*	
Firing in a kiln (*miḥraq, maḥārīq*) about 24 hours	*yiḥruq*

The pottery manufactured in al-Ṣurāb is assembled as in the illustration, so a closer description appears unnecessary. The potters sell their wares in all the weekly markets within their reach: only a part of the product is delivered to the urban market, as the demand has fallen sharply because of the introduction of household utensils made of new materials such as metal and plastic. This is evident from the modest share (only 4.76%) that

46 Bernisch Historisches Museum, Ethnographical Department. Inv. Nr. Do. 71.212.59.
47 Op. cit., Inv. Nr. Do. 71.212.61.

pottery has in the household utensils sector.

For the description of the technical process that is used by the agate polishers I depend on the notes that I took in 1971 during my stay in Asafi, a place in the Wādī Sirr.

The raw agate stones (*'aqīq*) come from the Ānis country, where they are collected by the agate polishers themselves or bought from the peasants living there.

Agate polishing is carried on only by men. Their technical equipment consists of: a twin hammer (*maṭraqah*), a holding stick (*lōk*)[48] on the end of which a stone is always fastened with a mixture of frankincense, clay and oil. Also four surfaces about 90cm high consisting of different kinds of stone.

Polishing a stone takes about 1 to 2 hours so that a day's production reaches a maximum of 6 to 8 polished agate stones.

The production process

Heating the agate over a fire — *Yidfā al-faṣṣ 'ala 'l-nār*

Polishing on a red limestone — *yishqaf fi 'l-shawābah* (pl., *shawāb*, Rossi, *L'Arabo parlato*, 171, stones from Wādī Sirr)

Polishing on white limestone — *yishqaf fi 'l-muqāribah*

Polishing on grey limestone — *yishqaf fi 'l-mudāsī*

Polishing on yellow limestone — *yishqaf fi 'l-tabāshīr*

Nowadays the agate polishers sell most of their production to the silversmiths in the urban market, also to the antique dealers established as a result of the stream of tourists. Tribesfolk mostly buy the stones direct from the agate polisher.

The Special Feature of Ṣan'ā' Market

This paragraph is concerned with what may be designated as 'typical' of the urban Market of Ṣan'ā'. Two market systems now function intact in the central highlands of which Ṣan'ā' constitutes the urban centre: the network of rural weekly markets, which begins at al-Rawḍah, about 8km outside Ṣan'ā', and the Ṣan'ā' market itself. In view of the geographical coexistence of these two market systems it seems advisable to tackle the problem to be treated here from this position. This coexistence poses the question as to whether the specific conditions of the ecology of the central highlands exercise an influence on the market structure there. I shall deal with this question because only when it has been cleared up will it be possible to bring into prominence the distinctive socio-economic features with greater lucidity. For this reason I have decided to compare five of the weekly markets I studied in the highlands with the same number of weekly markets in the Tihāmah studied by H. Escher, and finally to compare them with the Ṣan'ā' market. To do this I had to adopt H. Escher's code of market classifications, which is adapted to the offer of goods in the Tihāmah and therefore does not always correspond to that of the central highlands.[49] To make this comparison possible I could not avoid some inaccuracies.

Table 3 The weekly markets in the Tihāmah

The first number in the columns of the actual weekly markets refers to the number of traders.
The second number to the percentage of the total of all traders in the weekly market concerned.

Weekly markets	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Categories of goods						
Cereals	6 20.68	21 50.00	47 32.41	28 40.00	24 48.00	126 37.50
Sugar	7 24.13	5 11.90	34 23.44	9 12.85	10 20.00	65 19.34
Oils	0 0	4 9.52	12 8.27	3 4.28	3 6.00	22 6.55
Vegetables	1 3.55	1 2.38	10 6.89	2 2.85	2 4.00	16 4.76
Spices	2 6.89	0 0	3 2.06	1 1.42	2 4.00	8 2.38
Stimulants	2 6.89	0 0	3 2.06	2 2.85	0 0	7 2.08
Textiles	0 0	3 7.14	3 2.06	0 0	0 0	6 1.79
Footwear	1 3.44	0 0	2 1.37	2 2.85	1 2.00	6 1.79
Household goods	0 0	2 4.76	2 1.37	4 5.71	0 0	8 2.38
Total:	19	36	116	51	42	264 78.57*
Total of all traders in the market concerned	29	42	145	70	50	336

Names of the markets: I = Mawr; II = al-Ruṣfah; III = al-Rāfi'ī; IV = Sūq al-Rabū'; V = al-Qanamah

* 264 as a percentage of the total of 336

Table 4 The weekly markets of the central highlands

Weekly markets	I	II	III	IV	V	Total
Categories of goods						
Cereals	11 4.26	1 0.46	0 0	0 0	15 7.89	27 3.23
Sugar	11 4.26	14 6.45	8 6.77	4 7.69	4 2.10	41 4.91
Oils	7 0.38	3 1.38	1 0.84	1 1.92	1 0.52	13 1.52
Vegetables	22 8.52	23 10.59	9 7.62	9 17.30	16 8.42	79 9.46
Spices	15 5.81	4 .184	7 5.93	4 7.69	4 2.10	34 4.07
Stimulants	33 12.79	26 11.98	22 18.64	8 15.38	6 3.15	95 11.38
Textiles	22 8.52	5 2.30	8 6.77	3 5.76	2 1.05	40 4.79
Footwear	6 2.32	1 0.46	0 0	1 1.91	0 0	8 0.96
Household goods	12 4.65	2 0.92	11 9.32	5 9.61	4 2.10	34 4.07
Total:	139	79	66	35	52	371 44.43*
Total of all traders in the market concerned	258	217	118	52	190	835

Names of the markets: I = Baw'ān; II = al-Dhahab; III = al-Saghārah; IV = al-Rawḍah; V = Bayt al-Sayyid

* 371 as a percentage of the total of 835

Table 5 Percentage of the categories of goods of the total of all traders in the weekly markets and in the Ṣan'ā' Market

	Weekly markets of the Tihāmah	Weekly markets of the Central Highlands	Ṣan'ā'
Grain	37.50	3.23	3.05
Sugar	19.35	4.91	0.88
Oils	6.55	1.56	2.65
Vegetables	4.76	9.46	2.95
Spices	2.38	4.07	1.18
Stimulants	2.08	11.38	14.84
Textiles	1.79	4.79	31.78
Footwear	1.79	0.96	1.27
Household goods	2.38	4.07	6.10
Total	78.57 %	44.43 %	64.70 %

48 Op. cit., Inv. Nr. Do. 71.212.65,66.
49 H. Escher, 101.

Explanation:[50]

Cereals:	*dhurah, dukhn,* maize, wheat, rice, flour, *ḥulbah,* sesame
Sugar:	salt, biscuits, sweetcakes, sweets, honey, sugar, cane syrup
Fats:	ghee, sesame oil, local oil, local ghee, foreign oils
Vegetables:	pulses, onions, potatoes, eggplants, lady's fingers, tomatoes
Spices:	pepper, ginger, dried fish, local spices, foreign spices
Stimulants:	coffee, *qishr*, tea, tobacco, cigarettes, *qāt*, snuff, *shammah (burtuqān)*
Textiles:	clothes, blankets, sewing notions, zippers, hats
Shoes:	sandals, leather and plastic belts, leather products, plastic shoes and slippers
House wares:	baskets, mats, ropes, strings, plastic ropes, empty sacks, hats, pots, plates, waterpipes, aluminium wares: cooking pots, pans, plastic canisters, buckets, cups, glasses, feeding bottles (plastic), china ware

We begin with the comparison of the weekly market on the basis of the classified material in Table 3. The Tihāmah markets have two striking peculiaries: 1) the numerical preponderance of the categories of goods selected for the comparison with 78.57% of the total supply of goods on the markets; 2) the high percentage of cereals within the categories of goods recorded, standing at more than one third. With regard to the weekly markets of the central highlands the following facts stand out prominently: 1) the numerically small proportion of the selected categories of goods (only 44.43%) and 2) the strikingly high proportion of stimulants (11.38%). The interpretation of these varied characteristics can, of course, be only hypothetical since the present position of research makes more precise statements impossible. In the comparative tables the variety of the ecological zones clearly shows, on the one hand, the coastal plains of the Tihamah with its oasis culture, on the other, the central highlands with an agriculture blessed by rainfall, and, today, supplemented by pump irrigation. Without wishing to underestimate the influence of environmental factors, we shall produce evidence that, in connection with the characteristics shown by the tables, certain socio-cultural requirements are also formative factors. Therefore, to explain the strikingly high percentage of cereals on the markets of the Tihāmah, in addition to the favourable environmental conditions for productive cereal cultivation, it must be taken into account that the peasants dispose of cereals in the market to be able to meet their debts. Even if the economic unit concerned must forego essential means of existence, a large part of the harvest yield must be taken to the market. In this percentage recorded of cereals can be seen the effort of the peasants to free themselves from dependence on the traders, who operate as moneylenders so as to prevent the peasants gaining control of the means of production.

A completely different picture meets us in the highlands. Compared with the weekly markets in the Tihāmah, the proportion of the categories of goods at 44.43% recorded in the table looks modest: this means, however, that other goods on the highland markets such as meat, cattle fodder etc., enrich the supply to a greater extent. In the highlands there is a shortage of cattle fodder that could make intensive cattle rearing possible. With their lucerne crops the peasants can feed only their few cattle and donkeys, and it must be borne in mind that the shortage of cattle fodder does not permit feeding in the barn, which is replaced by hand feeding. Accordingly cattle naturally have a high exchange value, whereas the supply of meat for the farming population is assured by imports of cattle that are slaughtered in the weekly markets. With regard to the remarkably high percentage of stimulants, among which *qāt* claims the bulk, certain socio-cultural needs come into play, of the causes of which we have no knowledge at present. We still do not know why the consumption of *qāt* is being increasingly integrated into social life; presumably the causes for this could be found in the conflict between the traditional and the new order of values. In my opinion the high proportion of stimulants on the markets of the highlands is to be viewed in connection with the low quota of cereals (4.34%). It clearly reflects the state of cereal cultivation in this region. The retrogressive tendency of cereal cultivation in favour of planting *qāt*—which has already been discussed in the previous paragraph—implies that cereals are being increasingly withdrawn from the markets, for the cultivation of cereals is assuming the character of production for the household. So cereals circulate on the level of exchange between groups of relatives and between the households of a settlement. By contrast yields from the cultivation of vegetables and spices are excluded from this circulation just described. This feature is rooted in the dissimilar intensity of cultivation of vegetables and spices as compared with cereals. Varying from region to region within tribal territory, these agricultural products acquire another quality of marketablity in contrast to cereals—from which the relatively high percentage in which they are to be found on the markets of the highlands can be understood.

Finally, regarding the comparison of the markets of the highlands with Ṣan'ā' market, the statistics in Table 3 seem to imply that they belong to the same ecological zone, apart from some divergences in certain categories of goods such as textiles. The high quota of the textile trade is explained by the natural quantitatively larger requirements of the urban population in the way of clothing. Where the smaller percentage of vegetable and spice merchants is concerned the urban garden cultivation must be taken into account, the products of which partly circulate outside the market. These explanations, like the conclusions on the influence of similar environmental factors must not mislead us into ignoring an essential difference. By this I mean the differing proportion of categories of goods in relation to the total supply of goods on the market: weekly markets - 44.43%, urban market - 64.70%. If it is goods on the weekly markets important to the peasants (meat, cattle, fodder) that make up the preponderant part, in the urban market the balance is supplied by handicraft products. This relevant differentiation forms the starting point for the discussion of the individuality of the Ṣan'ā' market. In the comparison that follows the accent is therefore placed on the structural outgrowths of the rural weekly markets and the urban market.

For our purpose it is important first to establish in what respect the two market systems differ structurally from each other.

1 In the urban market handicraft production assumes an importance lacking in the rural weekly markets. Only occasionally do some craftsmen offer their products at the latter. This is understandable if we consider the customs in tribal territory, in accordance with which tribal members, in the capacity of principals, deal direct with the craftsmen in their territory, who in turn supply direct. In connection with handicraft production a peculiarity must be borne in mind with far-reaching consequences for the importance of the urban market, namely the fact that the production of arms is concentrated there. If one can believe the information of my authorities, arms production is the monopoly of the urban craftsmen. Should this assumption prove true, we should have to reckon with the economic dependence—to be still more closely defined—and also with definite political dependence of the tribes on the urban centre.

2 The organization in handicraft and merchant sectors in the urban market bears the imprint of a pronounced differentiation. The sectional organization of the market is, however, much less pronounced in the structure of the weekly markets.

3 At the urban market imported goods predominate, whereas, at the weekly markets, domestic products are extremely important.

4 The institutions important for urban market life, such as the money depository, warehouses, wholesale organizations, are lacking in the weekly markets, which are co-ordinated with intra-tribal and inter-tribal exchange of commodities.

50 Op. cit., 100.

5 Finally, the urban market is distinguished from the weekly markets by the level of the buildings and by the siting of the market with the market centre proper and peripheral markets.

The features common to both market systems must, of course, also be considered. They all originate—except in the geographical separation of residential and market zones proper—in the nature of Yemeni society.

1 The institution of the Shaykh al-Sūq.

2 The institution of intermediaries (*muṣliḥ, dallāl*) in business transactions.

3 The *ḥarām* (inviolate) status of the market. Its social function is to be seen in the fact that thereby involvement in conflict is said to be prevented. During my stay in Ṣan'ā' Market I observed no real quarrels except during Ramaḍān. With regard to quarrels during Ramaḍān one must realise that people become more irritable because of the complete reversal of their customary way of life.

I have described some characteristics that fit naturally into the frame of reference of what can be designated as an urban market, but some go beyond this frame of reference, among which I mean resemblances to the weekly market systems. It is this very relationship that deserves our special consideration when contemplating the development of urban society of Ṣan'ā'.

Appendix 1

The Warehouses (samāsir)

Market centre
S. al-Qūzī
S. al-Imām al-Mahdī
S. Yaḥyā b. Qāsim
S. 'Alī al-Tīnah
S. al-Manṣūrī
S. 'Alī b. al-Shāwī
S. Sūq al-Minqālah
S. al-Zubayrī
S. Muḥammad Luṭf al-Dhirayrah
S. Yaḥyā al-Na'āmī
S. Wardah
S. al-Baw'ānī
S. al-Mutarrib
S. al-Qāt
S. al-Sawd (Charcoal store, today a cafe)
S. al-Muqaṭrān Sūq Bāb al-Yaman
S. Aḥmad al-'Awāḍī
S. 'Aṭiyyah
S. 'Alī al-Shāmī
S. al-'Umārī
S. Wardah Sūq al-Baqar
S. Sa'ādah Sūq al-Zumur
S. al-Dawmarī
S. al-Ḥidayyid
S. Bayt al-Jindārī
S. al-Ṭāyifī

The following warehouses are situated in the Market centre (*makhzan*):

Makhzan al-Salīṭ
Makhzan al-Ḥabb

Appendix 2

The Most Important Wells in the Market

Sūq Bāb al-Yaman : Sabīl Aḥmad al-Suwaydī donated 1343/1924-5
Sūq al-Naẓārah : one well donated by al-Ḥājj Ḥusayn al-Ahjirī
Sūq al-Ḥinnā : one well donated 1349/1930-31
Sūq al-Ḥalaqah : Sabīl Sayyid Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad Ghumḍān donated 1337/1918-19
Sūq al-Jabbānah : Sabīl Bayt 'Amr donated 1369/1941 by al-Ḥājj 'Alī 'Amr
Sūq al-Baqar : Sabīl Aḥmad al-'Irayḥī
Sūq Ḥārat al-Madar : Sabīl al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Madar
Sūq al-Salab : Sabīl Ḥusayn al-'Umayrī
Sūq al-Bazz : Sabīl al-Qirsh
Sabīl Bayt al-Qaṭṭa'
Sabīl al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Sayrānī
Sūq al-Jilā/Jalā : Sabīl Daghbas donated by al-Ḥājj Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ al-Sinaydār
Sūq al-Qāt : Sabīl Ḥusayn b. Qāsim al-Yamānī donated 1358/1939-40
Sūq al-Ḥabb : Sabīl al-Ḥājj Aḥmad Ba'thar
Sabīl al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Sawsānī
One well
Sūq al-Fiḍḍah : Sabīl Ḥusayn al-Qaṭṭā' donated 1348/1929-30
Sabīl al-Ḍawrānī donated by al-Ḥājj 'Alī al-Maḥfadī
Sūq al-Qamarī : Sabīl constructed by al-Ḥājj Muḥammad al-Ṣayrafī
(*Masājid Ṣan'ā'*, 86)